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A SHORT REVIEW OF THE
RANSACTIONS IN BENGAL.

BY

JOR JOHN SCOTT.

) A NARRATIVE OF THE
ANSACTIONS AT BENARES.

BY

REN HASTINGS Esq.

CALCUTTA:

IE BANGABASI OFFICE,
)WANI CHARAN DUTT'S STREET.

1905.

Price Rs. Three on'y.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY N. ROY,
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SHORT REVIEW
OF THE
TRANSACTIONS
IN BENGAL
DURING
THE LAST TEN YEARS,
(1772-1782)

BY

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BY

JOHN SCOTT.

LONDON:

(SUCCESSOR TO MR. ALMON,)

OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

MDCCLXXXII.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

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IN this brochure an account of the transactions in Bengal during the administration of Warren Hastings Esqr. from 1772 to 1782 A. D. has been given. It is an out and out vindication of all of Mr. Hastings's 'misdeeds,' with which he was charged by his greatest political adversary, Mr. Francis. The writer, Major John Scott, although "he professes that his judgment has not been warped by his private affections," was a violent pro-Hastings; nay—he was, it is said, a paid agent to Mr. Warren Hastings. Major Scott wrote the book because he thought that "Mr. Hastings must be supported, and with effect, both by Government and the East-India Company."

This brochure has become so rare that to secure a stray copy, we had to pay a large sum. In as much as the book is important for throwing sufficient light upon the most interesting historical events for more than a decade and also on account of its being extremely rare, we have undertaken to reprint and lay it before the general public at a conceivably cheaper price.

THE BANGABASI OFFICE
Calcutta, March, 1905.

THE PUBLISHER.

PREFACE.

THE control which the Supreme Council of Bengal holds over the other Presidencies, makes the members of that Government in some measure responsible for the peace of India. It will appear very clearly upon inquiry, that the Governor-General and Council exerted themselves to the extent of the powers vested in them by the Legislature, to avert those misfortunes which have been experienced upon the coast of Coromandel; but that a war with a country power should have been commenced with such circumstances of disgrace to our arms, was not apprehended, I will venture to say, either by the Supreme Council or by any man in India.

Much pains has been taken in India, and the same efforts will doubtless be used in England, to attribute every unfortunate event upon the coast to the Mahratta war; which by some in Bengal, and most of the gentlemen in Madras, has been denominated Mr. Hastings's war. The Court of Directors, who, perfectly acquainted with the circumstances which led to the war, highly approved of the conduct which the Governor-General took in it, will, doubtless, do him the justice to contradict this assertion.

In the following sketch I mean to relate the events which led to a war which, from the year 1778, uniformly successful on our part, must have produced an honourable and advantageous peace many months ago, if the invasion of the Carnatic, the destruction of a third part of our army, and the expectation of a French armament, had not given fresh spirits to a vanquished enemy.

Upon other articles the conduct of the Governor-General has been grossly misrepresented: it may not therefore be unacceptable to his friends, to relate as concisely as the importance of the subject will admit, the principal transactions in Bengal, from the period of his arrival in February 1772, to the day of my departure from Bengal the 9th of January 1781; first premising that I will not advance a single fact which I cannot prove, either from my own knowledge or from authentic documents now in my possession.

No man has more severely suffered from unjust or illiberal insinuations than Mr. Hastings; nor has any man less deserved them: since, even in his own justification, he has carefully avoided all personal reflections. It is much to be lamented, that the public has suffered as well as Mr. Hastings, by the impression which such insinuations did at the time make upon the Court of Directors; for to what other cause can it be owing, that, for so many years, they withheld their confidence from a man they once thought so worthy of it? Conscious of the rectitude of his own actions, he has been too little solicitous to stem that torrent of calumny and abuse which his opponents have so liberally bestowed upon him. It is now high time to

refute these calumnies. I do not hesitate to declare, nor am I apprehensive of committing myself too far by such a declaration, that to render our possession of Bengal of consequence to the British nation, Mr. Hastings must be supported, and with effect, both by Government and the East-India Company. The event will prove that my judgment has not been warped by my private affections.

FEBRUARY 1782. JOHN SCOTT.



REVIEW OF THE TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL.

MR. HASTINGS was appointed by the Court of Directors to succeed to the Government of Bengal, in the month of April, 1772, immediately after the great famine. They were also pleased to invest him with some extraordinary powers, not heretofore vested in a Governor, from a conviction, that if their affairs there were yet retrievable, Mr. Hastings, (whose perseverance, firmness, and integrity, both in Bengal and Madras had been remarkably conspicuous,) was the most proper person to be employed in so arduous an undertaking. It is well known that the Government of Bengal was from various causes at this time reduced to the greatest distress. The late Governor, though in his private character very respectable, possessed neither the vigour or resolution which his public station required; and the Members of his Council submitted to the continuance of evils which they wanted either the power or the inclination to reform. The Company's annual expenses in Bengal considerably exceeded their revenues; and although bills had been drawn upon the

Court of Directors for more than a million sterling in 1770, there still remained a bond debt of a million and a half sterling, due to individuals in Bengal. There was a prospect also of this bond debt being monthly increased to the degree, that the expenses and the investment exceeded the actual revenues of the provinces.*

So supine a Government must have sunk of itself in a few years. That this was the real state of public affairs in Bengal, when Mr. Hastings arrived there, is known to every man at that time in India. In April 1772, he succeeded to the chair, and arduous as the task of reformation is in all countries, but more particularly in Bengal, he instantly began upon it. The excessive civil charges in Calcutta were retrenched, unnecessary appointments were abolished, and that spirit of extravagance and dissipation which had pervaded all orders of men, was suppressed, both by precept and example.

Notwithstanding opposition from many individuals, Mr. Hastings steadily pursued his plan of reformation, regardless of the personal obloquy which attended it, and in less than a month from his accession to the chair, the face of affairs was totally altered. Every resolution of Government was carried into effect with a promptitude and spirit which did honour to its executive members.

The Court of Directors at this time determined to stand forth themselves as Dewans of the provinces, through the agency of their own servants; and Mr.

* See the Appendix.

Hastings lost no time in carrying orders so beneficial to the Company into execution. He proceeded to Moorshedabad, the residence of the Nabob and the native officers of the Government, attended by three members of the Board, with an intention to investigate the state of the revenues, to reduce the charges incurred in the collection of them, and to establish provincial Courts of Justice, which might prevent those acts of oppression and arbitrary power that had hitherto been so much complained of.

Unfortunately for the Company in this, as in many other instances, Mr. Hastings had not the power to carry his whole plan into execution; but those regulations which he did establish will ever remain as the strongest proofs of the extent of his genius, and of the laborious attention he paid to every point, which could in the least degree contribute to secure the natives of Bengal in the possession of their property.

The same unremitting attention was paid to public business, on his return to Calcutta; and the Court of Directors were very early in their acknowledgments of Mr. Hastings's services, and of the benefits which were derived from them.

At the close of the year 1772 a new scene was opened in Bengal. To the spirited and decided part which Mr. Hastings then took in foreign politics, are the Company and the British nation indebted for the dominions and the extensive influence which they now enjoy in Indostan. To set this matter in its true point of view, and not with a design to reflect upon the political conduct of any person, it is necessary to revert to the period of Lord Clive's government.

The East-India Company's affairs were so thoroughly investigated by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1772, whose proceedings have since been made public, that it is needless to relate the steps by which we have arrived at our present power in India. The Company's agents in Bengal were inoffensive and reputable merchants when they were attacked without provocation, by that most despicable of tyrants, Surajah Dowlah, the grandson of an Usurper: they were at first driven from their possessions, but had afterwards the good fortune to see their prosecutor vanquished and deposed: his successor, Meer Jaffier, who owed his promotion entirely to us, beheld the increase of our power with a jealous eye, and concerted a scheme with the Dutch for our destruction. The firmness of Colonel Clive defeated the project, and in the succeeding Government it was necessary to depose the Nabob. A chain of well known events brought on a war with the successor, and his restoration. In one campaign, Cossim Alley was driven from the provinces. Sujah Dowlah, Nabob of Oude and Vizier, unprovoked by us, invaded Bahar; he was defeated, and had thrown himself upon our mercy at the time that Lord Clive returned to Bengal in 1765; his Lordship dictated his own terms to the King, Sujah Dowlah, and the young Nabob of Bengal. We had certainly a right to retain the possession of countries which we had conquered in in a just and necessary war, and Lord Clive undoubtedly gave the Princes of Indostan a conspicuous proof of his moderation, when he only required fifty lacks of rupees from the Vizier as a compensation for the restoration of his country, and the cession of Benares.

By the treaty which his Lordship concluded with the King, he guaranteed to him the possession of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, and engaged to pay him twenty-six lacks of rupees annually from the provinces of Bengal. Perhaps all the objections to so fatal a drain of specie from Bengal did not then occur to his Lordship, or Patna or Monghier would have been fixed upon as the place of his Majesty's residence. In this case, the evils which have since befallen the unhappy monarch would have been prevented, and our provinces considerably benefited, by having the amount of the tribute annually circulated in them. Still the condition implied in the treaty was undoubtedly, that his Majesty should reside under our immediate protection at Allahabad, which he quitted in June, 1771, at the instigation of the Mahrattas, who had engaged to conduct him to Dehly; a project this Prince had much at heart.

By leaving Allahabad he quitted our protection; and Mr. Hastings, who arrived in Bengal early in the next year, very justly concluded that the first use which the Mahrattas would make of their royal guest, would be to extort from him the provinces of Corah and Allahabad. He had authentic intelligence soon after, that grants of these provinces were actually made to them and signed by the King; and if his Majesty's commands were at all events to be obeyed, we might be required in another year to evacuate Bengal. The danger that was to be apprehended from having the Mahrattas (not at that time broken by intestine divisions) so near us was early foreseen, and wisely guarded against by an alliance with Sujah Dowlah,

which being concluded on the firm basis of mutual interest, was in no danger of being violated.

It is well known that this Prince had been considered as a disaffected ally during the Governments of Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier. By his conduct in 1768 he had so far excited the suspicions of a majority of the Select Committee, that they deputed two of their members, and a gentleman of the Council, to expostulate and to treat with him. In Mr. Hastings's administration he became a most useful and valuable ally.

When Mr. Hastings succeeded to the Government, the province of Bengal had been nearly exhausted of its circulating specie, by the annual tribute of twenty six lacks of rupees to the King, by the remittances in silver to China, to Madras, to Bombay, and to Europe; not a rupee of which ever returned again; by the total stop which was put to the importation of bullion from Europe or from Persia, in consequence of the great increase of our own investment, and the supplies which were afforded to foreign companies, by the servants of the Company, who had no other means of remitting their fortunes to Europe; the fatal effects of which Mr. Verelst had foreseen, and represented very fully to the Directors in a series of letters which do great honour to his abilities and foresight.

The regulations which were framed by Mr. Hastings on his accesson to the chair, although they immediately contributed to the happiness of the natives, and would in time prove highly beneficial to the Company, were not efficacious to relieve their present wants. The distress of the Directors for cash at home was very great; they had been obliged to have recourse

to Parliament for assistance, in consequence of the large drafts which had been made upon them from Bengal. Their chief dependance was upon Mr. Hastings to extricate the Company from their difficulties, both in Europe and in Asia. Their confidence was not misplaced, and their most sanguine expectations were fully answered. Foreign trade was encouraged to a greater degree than had before been known, and a new commerce by the way of Suez, was opened in consequence of the encouragement given to it by Mr. Hastings, which promised a relief to the languid circulation in Bengal, opened a quick communication with Great Britain, and has since been of the most essential advantage to us. Dustucks were abolished in the provinces, and every species of undue influence suppressed as far as the authority of Government could suppress it.

The King, as I before observed, having ceded Corah and Allahabad to the Mahrattas, it became a question, whether we should tamely permit them to take possession of those provinces, with the prospect of Bengal being invaded the following year, or instantly secure them. The latter resolution was taken; and a member of the Council was deputed to form an exact statement of their revenues in May, 1773. The King was at this time a prisoner at large at Dehly, slighted and despised by the Mahrattas, who proposed to invade the dominions of Sujah Dowlah, by the route of Rohilcund. To prevent this invasion, the first brigade, consisting of one regiment of Europeans, six battalions of Seapoys, and twenty pieces of cannon, had formed a junction with the troops of Sujah Dowlah

and the Rohillas, and were advancing towards the banks of the Ganges, by forced marches. The Mahrattas, who had forded that river, recrossed it with precipitation, as we advanced, were pursued, and prevented from doing any further damage than the plundering and burning a few inconsiderable villages in Rohilcund. When the approach of the rains swelled the Ganges, our troops returned to Oude. This expedition laid the foundation of the Rohilla war, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter.

Sujah Dowlah had repeatedly and earnestly solicited a personal conference with Mr. Hastings, to which he consented, and met him at Benares, in September, 1773, a few months after we had taken possession of Corah and Allahabad.

It was at this time that Mr. Hastings concluded the treaty of Benares, which in its consequences was so extremely beneficial to the East-India Company.

The principal articles were the cession of Corah and Allahabad to the Vizier, the increase of the subsidy, and our engagement to assist him in the conquest of Rohilcund.

The nominal revenues of Corah and Allahabad were twenty-five lacks of rupees per annum; but the actual collections fell greatly short of this sum: nor could any collections be made without the assistance of a strong military force. Several disaffected Zemindars were to be reduced; and these provinces were separated from our other possessions by the dominions of Cheyt Singh, the Raja of Benares, at that time a tributary to Sujah Dowlah. Mr. Hastings, after the maturest reflection, consented to cede these countries

to Sujah Dowlah, in consideration of his paying fifty lacks of rupees to the Company. This article of the treaty was highly approved of by the Court of Directors.

We were bound by Lord Clive's treaty with the Vizier to assist him with a military force, and he was to pay thirty thousand rupees * a month for a complete brigade; which was supposed to be equivalent to the additional expense incurred in the field, though it was in fact very inadequate to it. Mr. Hastings thought, and with justice, that Sujah Dowlah should pay the whole expense of an army acting at his requisition, or a sum equivalent to it. This he consented to, and it was fixed at two lacks and ten thousand rupees a month.† This alteration was warmly approved by the Directors.

The articles by which the Company were engaged to assist the Vizier in the conquest of Rohilcund, however severely attacked both in Bengal and England, may certainly be defended on the strictest grounds of policy and justice.

The Rohillas‡ were a tribe of Afghan Tartars, who

* £3,000. † £21,000.

‡ Dow's History of the Decline of the Mogul Empire, published in 1768, p. 37, gives this account of the Rohillas: "In the year 1744, Ali Mahummud, a Patan of the Rohilla tribe, a soldier of fortune, and native of the mountains of Cabalistan, began to appear in arms. He had some years before come to Dehly, and was entertained in the service of Mahummud Shaw, and the command of a small district between Dehly and Lahore was conferred upon him; here he entertained all vagrants of his own clan who came down in quest of military service from their native mountains; not paying his rent, Hernind, the Fougedar, to whom he was

about twenty-six years before this time invaded and conquered a large and fertile tract of country lying to the eastward of the Ganges, and bounded on one side by the north-east frontier of Oude, and on the other by what are called the Cachmere-hills, which are a continuation of those mountains that separate Bengal from Thibet. Some of the original invaders of this country are yet living. The fixed inhabitants are Hindoos. The Rohillas are Mussulman and soldiers to a man. The revenues were regularly collected and divided amongst the different chiefs, of whom the most considerable were Fyzula Cawn and Haffez Hamet. The Vizier had long beheld, with great mortification, the settlement of the Rohillas in a district which had formerly been dependant upon Oude; but as our Government had entertained so strong a jealousy of

accountable, raised 15,000 men to expel or chastise him; he was defeated with great slaughter, and thus Ali laid the foundation of the Rohilla Government. Upon this defeat the Vizier sent 30,000 men under his son against the rebels. Each side averse to a decision by battle, a treaty was concluded, whereby Ali was to keep the country before governed by Hernind upon paying the ancient revenues to the Crown · no payment was made, and Ali continued to strengthen himself, and ravaged the neighbouring country to subsist his army: at last the monarch himself was obliged to take the field. Ali shut himself up in Bangur, where he was obliged to capitulate. He was carried a prisoner to Dehly, where he remained six months; at the end of which the Patans not only obtained him his release, but the Fougedarship of Sirhind. There he maintained himself, and collecting his dispersed tribes, kept possession not only of Sirhind, but several districts between the rivers, and beyond the Ganges, without remittin one rupee to court." This happened in 1747.

his power, previous to Mr. Hastings's accession, and had kept up a correspondence with the Rohillas, he had been prevented from subduing them; and it is also probable that he did not think himself equal to the conquest of the country without our assistance.

A bare inspection of the map will prove of how much consequence it was, that the power in possession of Rohilcund should be in strict alliance with us.

The soil is so fertile that an army of Mahrattas might subsist in it for any length of time. It is full of strong forts for the security of plunder; and from hence in the course of one season their ravages might have been extended through the dominions of the Vizier into Bengal. When therefore the Mahrattas were masters of the King's person and of Dehly, and threatened to invade the country of an ally, whom by treaty, and from policy we were bound to defend, it was absolutely necessary either to conclude a defensive alliance with the Rohillas, or to take possession of their country.

Many small states in Europe have been precisely in the same situation. It was impossible that they could remain neuter in our approaching rupture with the Mahrattas; and they concluded an alliance with the Vizier and the Company, by which we engaged to protect their country from the ravages of the Mahrattas; they on their part were to join us with their forces, and at the conclusion of the campaign to pay forty lacks of rupees, as their proportion of the expenses of the war.

The Mahrattas, as I before observed, did invade Rohilcund, but we arrived so opportunely that they

were obliged to retreat very precipitately. The Rohillas as we advanced peremptorily refused to join us, and it was proposed to storm their camp; which they prevented, by forming a junction when we were upon the point of carrying this design into execution.

On the return of our troops to Oude, the Vizier demanded the stipulated payment of forty lacks, which at first was evaded, and afterwards absolutely refused.

Such was the state of this business when Mr. Hastings met the Vizier at Benares.

That the Rohillas would dread the Vizier's resentment for this breach of faith cannot be doubted; and that, to guard themselves against the effects of it, they would apply to the Mahrattas for assistance was highly probable. In truth they did negotiate with them. I need not mention the many fatal consequences with which such an alliance would have been attended. Success in the Rohilla war extended and secured the frontier of an ally and dependant on us; and it was founded on their breach of treaty and their alliance with his enemies.

The advantages which the East-India Company were to reap from the war, were great indeed: our exhausted provinces were to be relieved from the pay of a third part of our army during the service; and we were to receive fifty lacks of rupees at the conclusion of it.

The danger apprehended from an increase of the Vizier's power was merely ideal, as the event has fully proved. Mr. Hastings, who had studied his character, knew it perfectly well; but the gentlemen at home, who had for a long time been alarmed by accounts of the *dangerous ambition* and *high spirit* of Sujah Dowlah,

deemed every addition which we might make to his power a measure founded upon *wrong policy*. Fortunately, however, for the Company and the British nation, the man who managed their political affairs in Bengal clearly foresaw and steadily pursued their true interests.

The Rohilla war commenced in 1774, the conquest of the country was effected in seven months, and an equitable peace was concluded with Fyzula Cawn, the principal Rohilla chief, which has continued from that period uninterrupted.

I should exceed the bound which I have prescribed to myself, were I to enter into a detail of Mr. Hastings's public proceedings from his return to Calcutta in September 1773, to the commencement of the new Government in October 1774, when his authority was effectually annihilated. But the concurrent testimony of the English gentlemen then in Bengal, the flourishing state of the Company's affairs, the increase of wealth and the affection shewn by the natives to our Government, are ample proofs that every moment of his time was employed in pursuing the true interests of his constituents.

In the year 1767 I travelled four hundred miles through that country, it was very thinly inhabited; the appearance of an European with his attendants excited distrust and apprehension. I have travelled the same road since that period; I then found it in high cultivation. The natives, secure under the protection of humane and equal laws, were increasing in numbers, and no longer looked upon Englishmen as enemies.

It is certain, however clamour may have obscured the truth, that the lower ranks of people in no part of

the world live more happily, or are less oppressed than the natives of Bengal and Behar. The abuses which existed after our accession to the Dewanee are more to be attributed to a defective system of Government than to the want of inclination to correct them in the members of administration; nor could these abuses be corrected until the Governor and Council were authorised to break through the forms of a double Government.

At Mr. Hastings's accession to the chair he entirely new modelled the public offices, and allotted to each its distinct business. The mode of collecting the revenues, as well as the quantum to be collected, had heretofore been regulated by the resident of the Durbar and Mahomed Riza Cawn; and even after the establishment of provincial councils, Moorshedabad continued the seat of Government. But when the double Government, as it has been properly called, was abolished, Mr. Hastings removed all the native officers of it to Calcutta, and brought every department of finance immediately before the Council.

His regulations of the public offices, of the collections, and the various economical reforms, which, notwithstanding the difficulties preventing, and the odium consequent, he had effected in the short space of thirty months, added to the supply of treasure, which the treaty of Benares afforded, had raised the reputation of the Government of Bengal to the highest pitch, and the Company's affairs, which, when he succeeded to the chair, were to all appearance irretrievable, bore the strongest aspect of affluence and prosperity. The time however was now come when the abilities of the man who had done so much for the Company were to be decried,

and his character exposed as a subject for public derision.

On the 19th of October General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, arrived in Calcutta, and with the Governor General and Mr. Barwell, composed the Supreme Council of India. No Government could have commenced under more favourable circumstances. Our treasury was full; foreign trade flourished to a greater degree than had ever been known in Bengal. Inland commerce was freed from every impolitic restriction. The reputation of our arms was great, and the supply of wealth to Great-Britain by the investment (the only proper mode of enriching our native country from India) had increased every year since Mr. Hastings came to the Government. The gentlemen who then arrived from England had no personal connections to gratify; they had not been bred up in the Company's service; nor had they formed friendships, to which a small portion of their constituent's interests might have sometimes been sacrificed; (human nature will still be the same!) and their own appointments were so ample as to preclude even the temptation to act from interested motives. With such advantages, why has it happened that the British nation has not experienced all those good effects which the wisdom of the Legislature predicted when the Supreme Council of India was established? I shall relate facts as they happened, without a wish to reflect in the smallest degree upon two gentlemen of great honour and undoubted integrity, who are now no more; and who, I think, would have heartily co-operated with Mr. Hastings, if much pains had not been taken to deceive them by

designing men, who unfortunately were but too successful in so pernicious an undertaking.

Although Mr. Hastings received an addition to his former title by the act which constituted the Supreme Council, his powers were considerably curtailed by the instructions of the Court of Directors. Under these circumstances, he was at first undetermined, whether to resign or to retain the Government, but the violent conduct of a decided majority determined him to remain in the chair at all events.

The flame of opposition broke out with great violence at the second meeting of the Supreme Council. The Governor-General, for the information of his colleagues, drew up a clear and distinct statement of our political situation. Our alliances with the Vizier, the advantages which we had already received, and might in future expect to receive from it. Our alliances or connections with the native powers in Indostan, and every other particular which it was necessary to communicate to gentlemen vested with so high a public trust, and who at the same time were so entirely uninformed with respect to a country, which from that moment they were to govern. To elucidate some part of his minutes, Mr. Hastings delivered into the Board several extracts from Mr. Middleton's letters, who had resided for some months as his private agent at the Court of Sujah Dowlah.

A member of the Board, Colonel Monson, immediately proposed that the Governor-General should lay before them the whole correspondence of Mr. Middleton. This was so direct an attack upon the honour of Mr. Hastings, that he absolutely refused to comply with the

requisition; and from this moment commenced the attack upon his former administration.

They began with the Rohilla war. It was a war, they said, which would bring dishonour upon the nation. The money to be received, which they declared would never be paid, was the price of blood. Our army was exposed, in the dominions of a treacherous ally, to the most imminent dangers, and the majority determined to recall it immediately, provided the retreat could be effected with security to our own troops, though at that time Fitz Ulla still stood out; and by abandoning the Vizier the fifty lacks which we were to receive from him would not have been demandable.

By proceedings thus violent and unjustifiable, the great advantages which have since accrued to the Company had nearly been forfeited, but the earnestness of the Governor-General for a short delay in the execution of these intemperate orders had fortunately some effect. The non-payment of the subsidy due from the Vizier to the Company was the principal cause assigned for the recall of our army, although the bad policy of advancing our troops beyond the Carumnassa * was warmly insisted upon at the same time. A part of the money due by the treaty was soon after paid by the Vizier; this payment as well as that of the remainder was represented as the recovery of a desperate debt, and it was confidently asserted, that the recovery of so large a sum was owing to the firmness and resolution of the majority, though it had never been

* That river divides the province of Bahar from the dominions of Cheyh Sing, the Rajah of Benares.

conceived that he meant to deduct any part of the payment.

Mr. Middleton was immediately recalled from his station; and Mr. Bristow, the confidential friend of Mr. Francis, appointed Resident at the Vizier's court in his room.

The Governor-General's conduct in points which had already been referred to the judgment of the Court of Directors was severely attacked, a most melancholy picture was drawn of the distressed state of the provinces. The natives were said to groan under every species of oppression, and even murders to have been committed with impunity in our most populous cities, and universal ruin predicted.

To those who for more than two years had lived under a Government, vigorous far beyond what had ever been known in India, such a representation appeared extraordinary indeed.—On Mr. Hastings's arrival our dominions and our influence were bounded by the banks of the Carumnassa. The Company was sinking under the weight of a heavy bond-debt, an expensive civil establishment, and an army which cost more than a million sterling annually, and which could not with prudence have been considerably reformed. When the majority of the Supreme Council assumed the Government, the bond-debt was reduced, and funds provided for paying off the remainder; the public disbursements were regulated; the pay of a third of our army was furnished by Sujah Dowlah, and by its remaining in Oude we had a prospect of still further advantages, which were afterwards realized.

Mr. Hastings, sensible of these advantages, and of

the falsehood of the gloomy presages of the majority, in his separate letters to the Directors, assured them, that their affairs were at no former period in so flourishing a situation, that they would receive a large investment, the bond-debt would be paid off, and a large sum received in the treasury for emergencies in the course of the following season.

The majority contradicted and ridiculed this representation, but the event has proved that it was not made without full consideration, nor can it be denied that Mr. Hastings alone is entitled to the merit of paying off a debt of a millon and a half, of reserving an equal sum in the treasury of Bengal, of supplying Madras, Bombay, and China, with cash, and adding very considerably to the annual investment. His civil regulations in 1772, and his negociations with Sujah Dowlah in 1773 have, in their consequences, fixed us so securely in the possession of Indostan, from the source of the Ganges to the Ocean, notwithstanding the temporary distress under which we now labour, from Hyder Ally Cawn's successes in the Carnatic, that we are in no danger of a reverse of fortune, except from internal dissensions.

In the condemnation of past measures no public act of the Governor-General's was passed over without a comment. By giving up Corah and Allahabad to the Vizier, he sold what was the property of another; by withholding the tribute which we were by treaty engaged to pay to the King, he forfeited the national faith; and even admitting that it would have been imprudent to furnish his Majesty with so large a sum, when he was a prisoner with the Mahrattas, it ought at least to

have been reserved as a deposit in Calcutta: probably the consequences of withholding such a sum as a crore of rupees from circulation, when we could hardly find money for our necessary expenses, was not considered by the majority. However, as the Court of Directors in the first letter which was received from them in 1775, very highly approved of the sale of Corah, and the non-payment of the tribute, no further remarks were made on Mr Hastings's conduct in these points.

I now enter, and I confess with much regret, upon the conduct of the majority towards Mr. Hastings as a private gentleman, in which his reputation and his fortune were principally concerned. I lament sincerely that gentlemen of high honour and unblemished characters should have been so warped by their prejudices. But such are the fatal effects of party-spirit.

This attack was authorised by a very impolitic, though well meaning order of the Court of Directors; "That the Supreme Council should inquire into past abuses." A similar order had been given to Mr. Hastings on his accession to the Government, and it is now needless to lament the fatal consequences which were occasioned by an inattention to his opinion upon it. Mr. Hastings had found it impossible to detect or to punish those who had abused the confidence reposed in them. Much valuable time was lost, and much odium incurred by the attempt. Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier were men of honour, whose public virtue could not be better proved than by the very moderate amount of the fortunes which they brought home with them. From various causes however the Company's affairs were in great confusion, and the Directors attributing

it to the bad management of their servants in Bengal, were, with reason, anxious to detect those who were guilty, and therefore earnestly pressed Mr. Hastings to commence a retrospect of their conduct. But when the Supreme Council arrived in Bengal, our affairs were in so flourishing a state that such an order was surely unnecessary.

I will quote Mr. Hastings's opinion upon this subject; it reflects the greatest honour upon him. The letter from which I have taken the following extract is dated the 11th of November 1773, and if not received in London before the departure of the majority of the Supreme Council, must have been transmitted to them very shortly after.

" All my letters addressed to your honourable Court, " and to the Select Committee, repeat the strongest " promises of prosecuting the inquiries into the con- " duct of your servants, which you had been pleased " to commit particularly to my charge. You will " readily believe that I must have been sincere in those " declarations, since it would have argued great indiscre- " tion to have made them, had I foreseen my inability " to perform them. I find myself now under the dis- " agreeable necessity of avowing that inability; at the " same time that I will boldly take upon me to affirm, " that on whomsoever you might have delegated that " charge, it would have been sufficient to occupy the " entire attention of those who were entrusted with it, " and even with all the aids of leisure and authority " would have proved ineffctual. I dare appeal to the " public records, to the testimony of those who have " opportunities of knowing me, and even to the detail

" which the public voice can repeat of the past acts of
" this Government, that my time has been neither idly
" nor uselessly employed. Yet such are the cares and
" embarassments of this various state, that although
" much may be done, much more even in matters of
" moment must remain neglected. To select from
" the miscellaneous heap which each day's exigencies
" presents to our choice, those points on which the
" general welfare of your affairs most essentially de-
" pends, to provide expedients for future advantages,
" and guard against probable evils, are all that your
" administration can faithfully promise to perform for
" your service, with their united labours most dili-
" gently exerted. They cannot look back without sac-
" rificing the objects of their immediate duty, which
" are those of your interests, to useless researches, which
" can produce no real good, and may expose your
" affairs to all the ruinous consequences of personal
" malevolence both here and at home.

" May I be permitted to offer it, in all deference
" and submission to your commands, as my opinion,
" that whatever may have been the conduct of indivi-
" duals, or even of the collective members of your for-
" mer administrations, the blame is not so much imput-
" able to them as to a want of principle of Government
" adequate to its substance, and a coercive power to
" enforce it. The extent of Bengal and its possible
" resources are equal to those of most states in Europe.
" Its difficulties are greater than those of any, because
" it wants both an established form and powers of
" Government; deriving its actual support from the un-
" remitted labours and personal exertions of individuals

" in power, instead of the vital influence which " flows through the channels of a regular constitution, " and imperceptibly animates every part of it. Our " constitution is no where to be traced but in the " ancient charters which were framed for the jurisdic- " tion of your trading settlements, the sales of your " exports, and the provision of your annual invest- " ments. I need not observe how incompatible these " must prove to the Government of a great kingdom, " and for the preservation of its riches from private " violence and embezzlement.

" Among your servants, who for a course of years " have been left at large, in possession of so tempting " a deposit, it is not to be wondered at, that many " have applied it to the advancement of their own " fortunes; or that those who were possessed of " abilities to introduce a system of order, should have " been drawn along by the general current; since few " men are formed with so large a share of public vir- " tue as to sacrifice their interest, peace, and social " feelings to it, and to begin the work of reformation " on themselves.

" I should not have presumed to expatiate on a " subject of this nature, although my own justification " has made it in some measure necessary; but that " your late advices have given hopes that we shall " speedily be furnished with your instructions for " establishing a system of law and polity, which we " hitherto want. Whenever this work shall be accom- " plished on a foundation of consistency and perma- " nency, I will venture to foretell, from the knowledge " which I have of the general habits and manners of

" your servants, that you will have as few instances of " licentiousness amongst your servants as amongst the " members of any community in the British empire."

What impression this solid and conclusive reasoning of the Governor-General made upon the Court of Directors is not known ; but the East-India Company would have felt the good effects of it most sensibly, if, in consequence of this opinion, and the communication of his ideas upon the system of law and policy, the Court of Directors had new-modelled their instructions.

The disagreement in the Supreme Council became the general subjects of conversation in India. New hopes and fears were excited in all—every former transaction of Government was harshly censured—and the majority publicly declared, that they expected Mr. Hastings would be dismissed with disgrace from his station, as soon as their representations arrived in England.

When every act of Government which could be attributed to Mr. Hastings had been canvassed, his private character was attacked, and the man who had filled the most important stations in India with an unblemished reputation, who might with ease have accumulated a fortune of two hundred thousand pounds, during the many years that he was resident at the Court of Meer Jaffier, but who, it is well known, returned to his native country without a competency, was publicly accused of the most flagrant acts of rapacity and extortion, and of having amassed a fortune of four hundred thousand pounds in little more than two years.

To those who are acquainted with the moderation

of Mr. Hastings's character, with his neglect of his private interest, this accusation appeared as absurd as it was ill founded; but the proof was at hand, and Nundcomar stepped forth to support what they had advanced. It would indeed have been a cruel circumstance if the oath of Nundcomar had operated to the disadvantage even of a man as bad as himself; but that it should have had the least weight in the accusation of a character so respectable, and so firmly established as the Governor-General's, will hardly be credited when the spirit of party has subsided: yet certain it is, that upon the assertion of this wretch, the majority fixed Mr. Hastings's fortune at forty lacks of rupees.

To gentlemen at all conversant in the affairs of Bengal, the character of Nundcomar was well known. Mr. Hastings had employed him on his first arrival at the express desire of the Directors, to whom he had explained his sentiments of the man very freely. He in fact foretold to them the part Nundcomar would act, if he ever had an opportunity. Captain Swinton, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, declared that Nundcomar had been repeatedly guilty of forgery, and for this crime he suffered death in August 1775; whether strictly legally has been questioned, but there never was a doubt of the fact of his being perjured, nor of the majority knowing he was so, when they accepted his service in accusing Mr. Hastings.

This man, before he was committed to custody, had opened what may properly be called an information office in Calcutta. It was well known, that he was countenanced by the majority. I am very clear that

neither General Clavering or Colonel Monson, were aware of the dangerous use to which he would apply the power which he had acquired; but certain it is that the most liberal encouragement was given to informers of every denomination by the majority. Accusations as absurd as improbable were hourly received against the Governor-General; but although divested of all power, although Nundcomar was possessed of the means of proving his guilt had he really been guilty, after the fullest inquiry, with rewards offered on the one hand and punishments denounced on the other in order to procure the evidence which he wanted to criminate the Governor-General, nothing appeared that reflected either upon his honour or his integrity; unless it could be deemed a crime to receive from a Nabob a certain fixed sum for his expenses during his residence at Moorshedabad, in conformity to the customs of the country, and to the examples which had been set him by his predecessors, Lord Clive, Mr. Verelst, and Mr. Cartier. It was acknowledged by Sir George Wombwell in the General Court in 1776, that the allowance was to be taken, and that if he had given the Company credit for it, he might have charged them the expenses of his progress: this allowance had been settled by Lord Clive in lieu of purveyance.

Let it for a moment be supposed that Mr. Hastings had accumulated the large fortune which the majority supposed him to be possessed of. Was it made at the expense of the East-India Company—had he added to the weight of their bonded debt—had he involved them in dangerous or expensive alliances—had he neglected to make the necessary remittances of cash to our other

Presidencies, or to China—or had he diminished the annual investment to Europe—there might have been some excuse for inquiring into the amount of his private fortune, and how he had amassed it. But when this inquiry commenced, the Company's bond-debt of a million and an half was paying off; supplies had been sent to China, Fort St. George, and Bombay; two additional ships, the *Anson* and the *Northumberland*, had been taken up in Calcutta. So much was the investment increased; and the death of Sujah Dowlah gave us a prospect of a still further addition to our power, our influence, and our resources.

However, I will take upon me to affirm, that when the amount of the Governor-General's private fortune is known, it will appear to the most moderate man in England to be greatly inadequate either to the length or to the importance of his services.

During these violent attacks upon the character of Mr. Hastings, all public business was suspended. The inferior servants of the Company were divided into parties, and after the example of the Presidency, each Provincial Council had its majority and minority. Expensive prosecutions were commenced in the Supreme Court of Judicature against the Governor-General of India, who was reluctantly obliged, in vindication of his own honour, to bear a part in this disagreeable scene. At a time when our dominions and our influence were so greatly increased, at a time when the gentlemen of Bombay had commenced a war against the Mahrattas, at a time when the attention of every member of the Board should have been entirely employed in the consideration of the great political questions which

were before them—at this time, the Governor-General and Council were attending as evidences or parties in a Court of law; Mr. Hastings in his own defence, and the gentlemen of the majority, as guardians of the interests of the East-India Company, to criminate the man who had so essentially served his constituents.

So salutary were the regulations which Mr. Hastings had established, so firmly was the Government fixed in all its parts, that notwithstanding these unhappy dissensions, our affairs were at no former period in so flourishing a situation; and in the course of the years 1775 and 1776, every promise which the Governor-General had made to the Court of Directors was amply fulfilled. Whether this prosperity was owing to Mr. Hastings's regulations, and the political connections which he formed previous to the 19th of October 1774, or to the abilities and exertions of the Supreme Council, since that period, can at once be determined by an examination of the Company's records.

A treaty highly advantageous to the Company was concluded with Asoph Ul Dowlah, by which the sovereignty of Benares was transferred to us, and a net revenue of twenty-four lacks of rupees acquired. The continuance of a brigade in the Vizier's dominions was another article of the treaty, and the subsidy fixed at two lacks and sixty thousand rupees a month. Let not the Governor-General be deprived of the merit of these important acquisitions. The majority would never have agreed to advance our troops beyond the bounds of the Carumnassa; they even were anxious to recall them immediately, and were only prevented from actually doing so, by the earnest opposition of Mr.

Hastings. In either case, the death of Sujah Dowlah would have been attended with no advantages to the Company. The provinces of Oude, Corah, and Allahabad would have been torn by civil wars, and must, in the end, have been subdued, either by Nuzoph Cawn or the Mahrattas.

In September 1776 Colonel Monson died. No man was more ready to do justice to that gentleman's abilities than Mr. Hastings, or more sincerely lamented the unhappy prejudices which he imbibed on his first arrival in Bengal. Bred a soldier, and having served with distinguished reputation in India, he was admirably calculated for the command of our army in Bengal; to which had he fortunately been appointed, and confined to his professional duties, the Company would have experienced the good effects of his return to India in a very sensible degree.

At this period too we received advice of the extraordinary revolution at Madras. The Supreme Council were unanimous in their opinion of the measures to be taken upon so critical an occasion, and of the powers which Lord Pigot claimed, as President of a Council in which he had only a casting voice when the numbers were equal. That the powers of a Governor in India are very inadequate to the dignity of his station, and to the responsibility annexed to it, is beyond a doubt. This was Mr. Hastings's opinion, and he expressed it very freely to the Court of Directors, in the letter of which I have already given an extract: but until those powers are enlarged, a Governor, with a majority against him, must be a mere cypher. The Governor-General had only taken upon him to break up the

Council, when the majority had called Nundcomer before them, for the extraordinary purpose of preferring a criminal accusation against their President, and the first British subject in India. For this small exertion of authority he was severely reprimanded by the Court of Directors, and plainly informed, that he had no distinct authority annexed to his station, but that all the powers of Government were vested in a majority of the Board. Could the Governor-General allow that a law which was to bind him, was not of force when applied to the Governor of a subordinate presidency. The Court of Directors' sentiments on this subject were of sufficient force to determine the Supreme Council, had the reference made to them by the gentlemen of Fort St. George been a point of difficulty.

It was necessary to mention this unhappy business, because Mr. Stratton has published some partial extracts of a private letter, which he received from the Governor-General immediately after that revolution from which it might appear that he was interested in the dispute, although he had not the smallest personal concern in it. To those who have seen the whole letter, this explanation is unnecessary.

By the orders of the Company, wisely framed with a view to comply with Asiatic customs, all political negotiations are conducted through the channel of the Governors of the different Presidencies. A native in India can have no idea of a participation of power, and he very naturally concludes that a Governor is either absolute, or has no power in the state over which he presides.

When the connection of this Government with Suja

Dowla, was more closely cemented, Mr. Hastings thought proper to appoint Mr. Nathanael Middleton, his private Agent at the Court of that Prince. When the Supreme Council was divided into two distinct parties, Mr. Middleton was recalled, and Mr. Bristow, the confidential friend of Mr. Francis, appointed in his room.

By this step the annihilation of the Governor-General's political influence was completely proclaimed to every power in Indostan. While Mr. Bristow remained at Lucknow, Mr. Hastings, could only be looked upon as the constrained instrument of an authority raised upon the ruin of his own. This evident truth, will not be disputed by any man who has served in India; from the period of Colonel Monson's death to the time of Mr. Middleton's reappointment to the Vizier's Court, the attention of every man from Calcutta to Dehly was fixed upon this single point, as the criterion, by which he was to judge, whether Mr. Hastings meant to retain or to give up the Government. I do not rest the propriety of this measure upon the obligation which Mr. Hastings lay under, of doing an act of justice to an individual who had suffered severely for his attachment to him. But I insist upon it, that the public service could not be carried on with effect, while an opinion prevailed in Oude, that Mr. Hastings was upon the point of quitting the Chair; and such would have been the conclusion had Mr. Bristow been permitted to remain there. He was known to be the confidential friend of Mr. Francis; and however Mr. Hastings might have approved of his conduct, he could not give a person so situated his entire confidence

even admitting it possible to answer the other objection which I will venture to affirm are not to be controverted.

The Governor-General surely should not be expected to conduct the complicated affairs of an extensive empire, where our countrymen bear so very small a proportion in point of numbers to the natives, upon principles so different from those upon which all countries are regulated, and so totally different from those by which the late majority professedly acted. The late Mr. Playdell was deprived of the office of superintendent of the police (which was immediately given to the brother-in-law of Mr. Francis) for his activity in presenting an address to the Chief Justice that was obnoxious to the majority.* Mr. Playdell complained bitterly of the ill usage which he had received; but it was observed in reply that what had happened to him, was the chance of the worthiest men in England upon every change in administration, and that no wise Government would ever employ men in offices of trust under them of whose attachment they were not very well assured. This reasoning however it may appear in the case of Mr. Playdell, whose appointment was of very little consequence to the state, it is surely conclusive in that now before us.

The removal of Mr. Fowke from Benares was from the same motive.

Benares is one of the richest cities in India. It is

* Writs had been attempted to be taken out, which would have reached every part of Bengal and brought natives to Calcutta; the Court refused them. This moderation and justice procured them an address of thanks from the different sets of inhabitants at Calcutta.

the residence of learned men, and the centre of all political business. Vacqueels or Agents from every Prince in India reside here, and as the British Government is confessedly now the most important in Indostan, it is absolutely necessary that the resident at Benares should be dependant upon the ruling party in the Supreme Council. Upon this principle was Mr. Fowke sent there by the majority, and upon the same principle was he recalled after Colonel Monson's death. It is sufficient to state these facts as they really are, and then the Governor-General's conduct towards Mr. Fowke will need neither a justification or an apology. Whoever shall attribute these removals to a personal pique, or shall conceive Mr. Hastings capable of gratifying a private resentment at the expense of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Fowke, will be much deceived. He is too liberal to act from such narrow principles!

Every measure proposed by the Governor-General however salutary, was opposed by General Clavering, and supposed to be ultimately intended to answer some private view. The settlement of the lands, having been made for five years only, was on the point of expiring soon after Colonel Monson's death: Mr. Hastings proposed to obtain the fullest information of the state of the country, that the revenues might be fixed upon an equitable scale: to assist him in the laborious task which he had imposed upon himself, he had fixed upon two gentlemen of distinguished abilities and irreproachable characters, whose proceedings were to have been laid before the Council at large, in whom was vested the power of decision upon every point. Much valuable information was procured and transmitted to the Court

of Directors in consequence of this investigation, both as to the state of the country and its population and resources; but at that time it really appeared sufficient to blast every scheme, however beneficial, that it was proposed by Mr. Hastings. The minority questioned its legality; and General Clavering denominated it a trick to extort money from the Zeminders for the benefit of Mr. Hastings and his friend.

The last material act of Mr. Hastings's administration, previous to the death of General Clavering was, the increase of our military establishment; a measure which has been attended with infinite advantages to the public and to individuals; and has effectually secured the continuance of our influence in the extensive dominions of the Vizier. To set this matter on a clear point of view, and to free it from the false lights which may be thrown upon it, I will briefly relate the steps which led to it.

Sujah Dowlah died in February 1775. His eldest son, Asolph Ul Dowlah, was declared the heir of his father's dominions, but he owed his peaceable succession to the Musnud to the presence of our army. Intrigues were immediately formed against him, and in his troops mutinous and disaffected, were many officers in the interest of his competitors. The Vizier, justly alarmed for his personal safety, which had frequently been endangered, disbanded the most turbulent of his battalions, and applied to the Supreme Council for British officers to discipline those which he retained in his service. In consequence of this requisition nine captains and thirty subalterns were appointed to his service, and were to receive the pay of the rank next

above that which they held in Bengal. No funds were fixed for the payment of these officers, or of the troops which they were to command; so that in fact this new establishment was subject to all those inconveniencies which it was meant to redress.

A General spirit of mutiny broke out amongst the Vizier's troops immediately after the arrival of our officers; this in some battalions was carried to the most alarming lengths. Many officers were seized, confined and threatened to be put to death. The storm at length subsided. The principal mutineers were punished, and discipline was in some measure restored. Many however were the disadvantages which our service sustained by this establishment. The emoluments were so considerable to those who had the good fortune to be appointed to the Vizier's service, that it created a general spirit of discontent amongst our officers in Bengal; and trifling as the establishment was in point of numbers, the expense of it so far exceeded all bounds, that the Vizier was unable to keep it up, and to discharge his debt to the Company. Certainly a service in which the emoluments to individuals so far exceeded those in our own, required some regulations. Mr. Hastings had seen the bad effects of a similar establishment in the Carnatic, and the Company at this moment most severely feel it: upon Colonel Monson's death he proposed a remedy for them.

On the principle that our interest and the Vizier's were thus closely connected, Mr. Hastings brought his plan before the Board, which was, that three regiments of horse, three companies of artillery, and nine battalions of Sepoys, should be added to our establishments, and

with this addition of force we were to protect the Vizier's dominions. The disciplined corps in his service were to form this body; and to fix them more firmly in our service, they were to take their tour of duty in our Provinces, and to be subject to the same regulations with respect to pay as the rest of our army. The Vizier was to appropriate certain fixed funds for the payment of these troops, so that this important addition to our army was made without the smallest expense to the East-India Company.

Beneficial as this plan must appear, and to which only one objection could be urged, the difficulty of procuring the Vizier's assent to it, it was vehemently opposed. Mr. Francis contended, that all military arrangements should originate with the Commander-in-Chief, although this was evidently a great political regulation of the highest consequence. The General's objections were numerous. The Vizier's consent was obtained through the agency of Mr. Middleton; the plan was soon after carried into execution, and has so completely answered every good end which was proposed by it, that even those gentlemen who lost considerably by the alteration, have been candid enough to declare, that no act of Mr. Hastings's administration redounds more to his honour or to the Company's advantage, than this establishment, formed against the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, and the opposition of Mr. Francis.

The Provinces of Oude, Corah, Allahabad, Rohilcund and the Doab, have been protected, the revenues have been collected, and the troops have been regularly paid from the day this establishment took place; and in the

year 1780 the general relief of the army was effected; by which these new battalions were brought into our Provinces, and relieved by an equal number from Bengal.

In August 1777 General Clavering died. A man whose character must be always considered with respect, as his errors arose from a good principle, the hatred of corruption. He certainly brought with him to Bengal a rooted prejudice against the Company's servants in general, and a very unjust one against Mr. Hastings in particular. The Court of Directors by their instructions, in which from the best motives they authorised a review of past transactions, opened so wide a field for imposition, that the General's prejudices were still more confirmed by the improbable tales which were hourly brought to him. The violence of the majority absolutely created a party, where otherwise there would have been none.

Mr. Hastings, through the whole course of his public life, had given the strongest proofs of his integrity and disinterestedness; Sir John Clavering's has never been questioned; had some pains therefore been taken to unite such respectable characters, the intention of the legislature in forming the Supreme Council would have been effectually answered; but as it was the first impressions which the General received, from a certain perseverance in his temper, grew stronger every day, and the interest of the East-India Company unhappily suffered by it.

I do not mean to infer that no abuses existed in Bengal when the Supreme Council arrived there. Let it be considered that Mr. Hastings was the President

of a Council, in which he had a casting voice only when the numbers were equal, consequently that he would sometimes be obliged to accommodate his opinion to the sense of the majority of his Council; but it is a certain truth, that whilst he had the lead, he did more to reform abuses than any other man would have done or attemped. The establishment of the Supreme Council was calculated for completing his plans of reformation, a work in which he would most cordially have taken the lead; but unfortunately he was obliged to give up that time, which might have been so valuably employed for the public service, to the justification of past, and successful measures, and even to the defence of his private character.

Passing over common occurrences I come to that period in which arose the present expensive (though when Mr. Hastings's scheme prevailed successful) war with the Mahrattas. It has been industriously endeavoured to impute the origin as well as progress of this war to Mr. Hastings. The Court of Directors are possessed of the fullest evidence to the contrary, and both living testimony and authentic documents prove that its origin is not owing to him, and that the continuation of it is the effect of necessity.

It will be proper to take up this important subject from the first connection of the Bombay Council with Ragonath Row, otherwise called Ragobah.

Although the nominal sovereignty of the Mahratta state was in a Raja, the real administration of Government, as well as the power inherent to it, was possessed by a Bramin family under the title of Pashwa or Chancellor, and this authority was so fixed in them

that it became hereditary, and in case of infancy the state was governed by regent, who was generally the nearest in blood. Narrein Row, the last Pashwa, died leaving no children; and Ragobah, who was his uncle, became Pashwa. During an expedition which carried him to a distance from his capital, the Council (consisting of Bramins) dispossessed him, giving out that the widow of Narrein was with child, and accusing him of having assassinated his nephew. The first of these facts was doubtful, the latter most probably false, he having been in confinement for a long time before that event, without any communication with the conspirators. Soon after it was given out that the widow of Narrein was delivered of a son; and Narra, with Saccarum and others of the Bramin Council, acting as they alleged, in support of the infant, drove Ragobah from Poona, and reduced him to such distress that he applied for assistance to the Presidency of Bombay.

Not relying solely on the justice of his cause, the more readily to obtain assistance, he offered to make some very valuable cessions of territory to the East-India Company. A treaty was concluded, by which we engaged to assist him with a military force; and an army from Bombay took the field under the command of Colonel Keating; whether our forces, in conjunction with Ragobah's would have conducted him in triumph to Poona is uncertain, but it can hardly be doubted that a few spirited operations would have been productive of an advantageous peace with the ministerial party, both for the Company and for Ragonaut Row.

Intelligence of the transactions at Bombay was received at Calcutta a few months after the first meeting of the Supreme Council, whose authority in this transaction having been totally disregarded, either from inadvertence or design, produced very serious consequences. The treaty with Ragobah having been concluded without the sanction of the Governor-General and Council was disavowed; and an officer of rank (Lieutenant-Colonel Upton) was deputed to Poona with instructions to conclude a peace upon almost any terms, with the Ministers who were denominated the ruling members of the Mahratta state; and the English army was ordered to march back.

So glaring a condemnation of past measures, and so pointed an interference in their affairs, naturally tended to destroy the influence of the gentlemen of Bombay, upon the Malabar coast; while it provoked their passions and excited their resentments. Under these circumstances, a co-operation with Colonel Upton could not be expected. It had been fortunate if, from that moment, the Government of Bombay had been fixed upon a plan of the most rigid economy; and their troops had been confined to the defence of Bombay, the castle of Surat, and the island of Salsette.

Mr. Hastings, although he joined with the other members in disapproving the conduct of the presidency of Bombay, thought that there might exist circumstances which should prevent the return of the army, but he was overruled, and the moderation of our demands was attributed very naturally by the Mahrattas to a want of ability to carry on the war. Colonel Upton was five months on his journey to Poona. He

was treated with great disrespect by the Mahratta Chiefs through whose countries he passed. The Ministers, on his arrival, complained bitterly of our interference in their family disputes; and were so high in their demands, insisting even upon the restoration of Salsette, that Colonel Upton broke off the negociation; and by his first dispatches to Calcutta, it was supposed that the war would be continued. But this was a mere trick of the Ministers, who were anxious for an accommodation; and on the 1st of March, 1776, a treaty of peace was signed by Colonel Upton, on the part of our Government; and on their side was authenticated by the seal of the Pashwa, an infant of about two years old, and by the signature of his two Ministers, Sacaram Bappoo and Nana Furnese. By one article of the treaty, a provision was made for the subsistence of Ragobah, their late competitor, on condition of his residing in the heart of the Mahratta dominions, with a guard appointed by the Ministers themselves, for his state and security. This clause, as might reasonably be expected, defeated the intention of treaty, since it left Ragobah at the mercy of his enemies without any pledge or engagement for his safety. The consequence was, that he fled to Bombay and claimed the protection of that Government for the security of his person.

The Ministers exclaimed against this protection; and mutual complaints of the inexecution of this treaty were made by them and the Bombay Council. About the month of May, 1777, the Chevalier St. Lubin made his appearance at Poona, in the public character of a Minister from the Court of France. He was received with great honour, and in a little time written

engagements were mutually interchanged between him and Nana Furnese, by which he promised to bring a regiment of Europeans, with military stores, to Poona, for the service of the Mahratta state. Intelligence of this treaty, at first doubted, was soon confirmed by authorities of unquestionable credit, and by a series of facts of public notoriety. It had been always the Governor-General's opinion, that this was the only way by which the French could hope to regain their consequence in India, or to affect ours; and he reasonably expected, that the Presidency of Bombay, which was more immediately interested in the effects of such a connection, would take some steps to render it abortive. This was by no means difficult. The Mahratta army under Hurry Punt Furkia, was at that time engaged in an unequal war with Hyder Ally. The Ministers quarrelling among themselves, possessed litttle aurhority, and were dependent for that little upon their own vassals. The Presidency of Bombay had long shown an impatience to revive the cause of Ragobah; and the slightest movements made by them in his favour would have proved sufficient to overthrow the feeble power which they had to contend with, and to establish their own influence in the Mahratta state on its ruins. But Mr. Hastings, that he might leave no means untried to avoid a rupture with the Mahrattas, and to counteract the French influence at Poona, schemed a treaty, which he meant should remedy all the defects of that concluded by Colonel Upton; every article of which, at that time remained unexecuted. This treaty was laid before the Board in Calcutta, with a very long explanatory minute, on the 23rd of January, 1778, and

will, if read with the attention it deserves, entirely exculpate the Governor-General from the smallest suspicion of a desire to involve the East India Company in a war with the Mahrattas. On the 29th of January, whilst this minute lay for consideration, a letter was received from Bombay, dated the 12th of December, 1777, informing the Supreme Council that a proposal had been secretly made to the Governor and Council, through their agent at Poona, by a party which had been formed against Nana Furnese, consisting of Saccarum Bappoo, who had signed the treaty, and other considerable men, with a potent Raja, Tuckajee Holkar, to assist them in the design of reinstating Ragobah in the chief administration of the Mahratta state; and that they had agreed to join in it, requiring only, as a preliminary condition, a written application to the same effect, under the hands and seals of the confederates. They excused themselves for having so far engaged themselves, without the previous authority of the Supreme Council, by the obvious necessity of an immediate decision; and they requested their acquiescence and assistance in it. On the receipt of this letter the Governor-General and Council resolved to ratify what they had done, to authorize them to proceed, and to send them an extraordinary supply of ten lacks of rupees for the undertaking. It was also resolved, to assist them in the execution of their plan with a military force.

In forming these resolutions the majority of the Supreme Council were swayed by the following consideration.

1st. In the event of a rupture with France, which was

daily apprehended, the connection formed by Nana Furnese with St. Lubin, and the engagement which he had entered into to land a regiment of Europeans with military stores at Poona, might, if carried into effect, be productive of the most dangerous consequences to the Company's influence, and their possessions in India. This could be prevented only by the removal of the party so closely connected with our natural enemy, and therefore this was an object of the first importance; and Ragonaut Row was the instrument for this purpose. Mr. Hastings had no predilection for this Chief, nor is it possible to attribute his conduct to any interested view.

2dly, Authorizing the gentlemen of Bombay to take part with Ragobah, was a strict compliance with the orders of the Court of Directors contained in the following paragraph of their General letter of the 5th of February, 1777.

" His (Ragobah's) pretentions to the Supreme " authority, either in his own right, or as guardian to " the infant Pashwa, appear to us better founded than " those of his competitors; and therefore, if the condi- " tions of the treaty of Poona have not been strictly " fulfilled on the part of the Mahrattas, and if, from " any circumstances, you shall deem it expedient, we " shall have no objection to an alliance with Ragobah, " on the terms agreed upon between him and the Gov- " ernor and Council of Bombay."

3dly, The restoration of Ragonaut Row would have been attended by an accession of teritory upon the Malabar coast to the amount of the annual expenses of the Presidency of Bombay; by which means no further

drains would have been made from our treasury in Bengal.

4thly, The restoration of Ragobah was not a breach of the treaty of Poona, because that treaty was signed by Saccarum Bappoo and Nana Furnese only; and Saccarum, the first Minister in rank, with the principal officers of the Mahratta state, joined in the proposal to the gentlemen of Bombay, for his return to Poona.

Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheeler however, strenuously opposed the measure, on various grounds; and amongst others, because it was in disobedience to the order of the Court of Directors.

I must here interrupt my narrative, to observe in what view the Directors considered the conduct of the Governor-General in this instance.

About the 29th of July 1778, the Court of Directors received dispatches both from Bombay and Bengal, in which they were informed of the plan proposed to the Presidency of Bombay, by the opponents of Nana Furnese, of the sanction given to it by the Governor-General and Council, and of their resolution to assist them with money and a considerable reinforcement, in order the more effectually to carry it into execution, and to support them in the consequences of it. These advices the Court of Directors thought of such great importance, that on the 29th of August 1778, Colonel Capper was applied to by the Select Committee of the Court of Directors, to carry a packet to Bombay of the greatest national importance. He accordingly left London the 1st of September, and by the letters which he brought, both the gentlemen of Bengal and Bombay had the satisfaction to receive the fullest approbation of the

Directors, who express very strong anxiety for Ragobah's restoration, and the overthrow of that party at Poona in alliance with the French. The first ship of the season, brought out a complete approbation to Mr. Hastings, for the part which he had acted, in this important business.

On the 23d of February, 1778, orders were issued for forming a detachment of six battalions of Seapoys, one company of native artillery, with a regular proportion of field artillery, to which were afterwards added, the first regiment of cavalry aud five hundred of the Viziers Candahar horse. Colonel Leslie was appointed to command this force, and ordered to march directly to Bombay by the shortest route he should judge most practicable, and for the sequel of his operations, he was to obey the orders of the President and Council of Bombay. This detachment crossed the Jumna the latter end of May, with slight and ineffectual opposition from Ballajee Pundit, the chief of the Mahratta territories dependent upon Culpee. In the mean time the design which had furnished the occasion of this expedition was suffered to sleep at Bombay, the violent ardour of that Presidency for the cause of Ragonaut Row ceasing with the removal of the bar which had been laid on the prosecution of it. It produced however, the principal effects intended by the promotion of it. These suddenly assembling their forces on the 30th of March, deprived Nana Furnese of his authority, and invested Moraba Furnese with it in his stead. This easy revolution, without bloodshed or contest, proved the extreme weakness of the Mahratta Government and the great facility with which the plan, offered to

the Presidency of Bombay, might have been executed in its full extent, had they immediately engaged in it. When the gentlemen of Bombay first heard of Colonel Leslie's march they ordered him to halt, and a few days after, they sent him an order to prosecute his march but without any object described, or plan of operations proposed, or thought on: thus abandoned by the Presidency of Bombay, Mr. Hastings had recourse to other means which were more within the compass of his own direction, and for which he had in some degree made a provision a considerable time before, on the presumption of the utility of which it might prove in the event of a rupture with the Mahrattas.

When the Supreme Council determined to send detachment to the other side of India, the Governor-General applied to the Raja of Berar to grant his permission for its free march through his territories, with such assistance as it might require on the way. He received an immediate answer to his application on such terms as he wished, and the Raja at the same time sent a person to the banks of the Nurbudda, which bounds his dominions to the north, with a store of grain for the subsistence of the detachment, and orders to attend it through his country, of which he advised Colonel Leslie, inviting him to take that route, and assuring him of his most friendly reception.

The nominal Sovereign of the Mahratta state, who had languished in honourable confinement at Sattarah, Rajah Ram Rajah, died in December, 1777. He left no children, and Moodajee Boosla, Rajah of Berar, had the fairest pretensions to the succession, being in direct lineal descent from the ancient stock, and the adopted

son of Sahoo Rajah, the predecessor of Ram Rajah, though deprived of his right by the artifices of Ballajee, who was the Pashwa, when Sahoo Rajah died. Mr. Hastings judged Moodajee Boosla to be a proper person to supply the place of Ragobah, in the plan offered to the Supreme Council for overturning the French influence at Poona. He possessed wealth, power, and a territory extending from the borders of Bengal almost to Poona. Ragobah had neither wealth or power, nor had he influence to supply the want of these requisites, except what might arise from the Presidency of Bombay taking an active part in his favour, and it did not then appear that they took any. Mr. Hastings wished and expected the proposal of an alliance to come from Moodajee, and he had deputed his Vackeel to him for that purpose, a man of understanding, and well instructed, but it now became necessary to take a more active and determined part.

On the 7th of July 1778, advices deemed worthy of credit were received from Cairo that war had been declared between Great-Britain and France; at Paris on the 18th, and in London on the 30th of March. The destination of Count D'Estaings's fleet was not then known. It was very naturally supposed to be intended against Bombay, and the first advices which were received from England, tended still more strongly to confirm this supposition. The Chevalier St. Lubin was known to be still at Poona, and to hold frequent conferences with the ministers of the Pashwa. The Supreme Council, regardless of all personal consequences, determined instantly to take possession of all the French settlements in Bengal, and of the ships in

the river. At the same time, they earnestly recommended to the Presidency of Fort St. George, to commence the siege of Pondicherry immediately, and if possible to secure the friendship of Hyder Ally Cawn. It was also resolved to enter into a negociation with Moodajee, on the grounds which I have mentioned above. Mr. Elliot was deputed on this service. At Cuttack he overtook Mr. Chevalier, the Governor of Chandernagore, who had escaped from that place, and was so far in his way to Pondicherry. Mr. Elliot had the address to persuade Moodajee's Deputy at that place, to consent to his apprehending Mr. Chevalier; which he did, and sent him a prisoner to Fort William. By his papers the reality of the French scheme against us was fully evinced. He then proceeded towards Naigpore, the capital of Berar: the whole service could not have afforded an agent more proper for such an embassy, and Mr. Hastings's hopes were proportionably raised, but as suddenly blasted by the untimely death of that very valuable young man about a fortnight after he had left Cuttack. It is more than probable that if Mr. Elliot had arrived at Naigpore, an alliance of the most beneficial consequence to the East-India Company would have been concluded with the Rajah of Berar.

Colonel Leslie, when Mr. Elliot died, had advanced but 120 miles from Calpee, having employed too much of his time in settling the family disputes of the Bundella Chiefs. He was recalled from his command on the 7th of October, but by his death Colonel Goddard had succeeded to it, before the letter reached the camp.

Colonel Goddard immediately prosecuted his march

to the banks of the Nerbudda, and was empowered on his arrival there to treat with Moodajee. He deputed his interpreter to the Court of that Prince; who in his letter to Mr. Hastings, after the death of Mr. Elliot, had desired the negociation might be transferred to his secretary; and had expressed the strongest inclination to bring it to a conclusion.

A second and unexpected revolution was effected at Poona on the 26th of June, and Moraba Furnese was imprisoned with his principal adherents. Moraba, before his imprisonment, had made proposals to the Presidency of Bombay, who had resolved to conduct Ragobah with an army to Poona: a circumstance well known to Moodajee, who, in consequence of it, declined the alliance which was proposed to him, deeming Ragobah's interests incompatible with his own: but with very cordial professions of friendship for the English nation, which he evinced by furnishing Colonel Goddard with cash, provisions, and draft cattle, for his artillery. Colonel Goddard advanced towards Poona by quick marches.

I have already observed that the Bombay gentlemen had reassumed their design in favour of Ragobah. The period at which they reassumed it was unfavourable; Ragobah's principal adherents were confined, and Colonel Goddard, whose army would by its presence have insured success, was at a considerable distance. I wish to relate facts, and not to comment upon them. On the 23d of November the Bombay army, consisting of one hundred and forty-three artillery, five hundred and forty-eight European infantry, two thousand two hundred and seventy Seapoys, and five hundred

Lascars, was transported to the continent. On the 23d of December they ascended the Gauts and marched towards Poona, and on the 9th of January it was determined to retreat, on account of a scarcity of provisions, although they had a supply for eighteen days, and there was but one short day's march to Poona. So much alarmed had the Ministers been for the event, that, by their agent at Bombay, they had offered fresh terms to the Governor before the army advanced. The commanding officer, Colonel Cockburn, when consulted, said that he had not a doubt of the army's marching to Poona, but that our troops had not been used to retreat. However, the resolution was not to be altered. The army was formed into three divisions, encumbered with baggage, and moved off by night. They were attacked by numerous bodies of Mahrattas, but defended themselves with the utmost bravery, and sustained a loss comparatively small, if the length of the action and the numbers of the foe are considered. In the evening of that day application was made to Nana and Sindia, for an undisturbed retreat of the army to Bombay; this was granted, upon the humiliating terms, that Salcot, and every other acquisition by the Bombay Government since the time of Mahderow, should be given up, and that orders should be sent to Col. Goddard, to return with his army to Bengal. It is true, the Committee* who governed that army, gave an express declaration in writing that they had not the power to

* The Council of Bombay, on the 4th of November, appointed Mr. Carnac, Colonel Egerton, and Mr. Mostyn, a Committee to carry their plan into execution; this was called the Poona Committee. Mr. Mostyn died during the expedition.

bind the Supreme Council to the observance of these terms, and the Mahratta Chiefs know it was so.

By this fatal check the honour of the British arms, was tarnished, the cause of Ragobah Row given up; and, had the treaty been valid, all our conquests upon the Malabar coasts ceded to the Mahrattas. That the corps which took the field from Bombay, was strong enough to resist the united force of the Mahratta empire, is beyond a doubt; that it was able to surmount every obstruction which the suddenly collected army of the Mahrattas could have thrown in its way, is highly probable, (since two of our battalions, with four field pieces, in February 1780, put twenty thousand of their best troops under Madjee Sindia to the rout) but that by waiting for the junction of General Goddard's army every possibility of a failure would have been avoided, cannot be disputed.

Colonel Goddard, when he was about three hundred miles from Surat, and the same distance from Poona, received an order from the Poona Committee to return to Bengal, without any notice being taken of the disaster, and retreat of the Bombay army; after mature reflection he determined, notwithstanding this order, to advance towards Surat. On his march a Vackeel from the Mahratta Ministers arrived in his camp, with a copy of the convention. Colonel Goddard denied that the Commitee had any authority over him, and said that he was directed to march to Bombay for the security of the Company's possessions against the designs of the French, and that he should prosecute his march. He effected his arrrival at Surat on the 18th of February 1770.

Sir Eyre Coote arrived in Bengal on the 27th of March 1779; the Supreme Council was then complete, and the Governor-General at the first assembly of the Board, although they had not received a full account of the transactions at Bombay, proposed that we should, if possible, conclude a lasting peace with the Mahrattas upon the terms of Colonel Upton's treaty. His proposal was unanimously agreed to, and Colonel Goddard appointed the Minister of this Government.

The Supreme Council were as unanimous in disavowing the convention of Wargaum, concluded by the Poona Committee; but, anxious for peace with the Mahrattas, and on a supposition that the gentlemen of Bombay might not heartily co-operate with them, Colonel Goddard was instructed to use utmost endeavours to effect a reconciliation. All these resolutions were moved by the Governor-General; no member of the Board proposed to avow the convention of Wargaum; upon what grounds therefore hath Mr. Hastings been charged as the author of the Mahratta war?

Colonel, now General, Goddard, when he had received his instructions, communicated his appointment to the Ministers at Poona; and they deputed a Vackeel to negociate a treaty of peace with him. Before this Vackeel arrived at Surat, Ragobah had made his escape from the officers of Sindia, who had charge of his person, and were conveying him to a place of confinement. He fled to Surat, and General Goddard agreed to give him personal protection; informing the Ministers at Poona of this unexpected event. The Vackeel arrived at Surat—received our proposals—returned to Poona, and promised to forward a categorical answer in three

weeks. After some delays, during which time General Goddard received intelligence that the Ministers were negociating a treaty with Hyder Ally, and making every preparation for war, the Vackeel returned to Surat, with the only terms on which the Mahrattas would consent to a peace. These were, that we should cede Salsette to them, and deliver up the person of Ragobah Row. Thus were the efforts of the Supreme Council disappointed; can this disappointment be attributed to a want of zeal for an accommodation, either in the Governor-General or General Goddard?

General Goddard at the same time recieved intelligence, that an alliance had been concluded at Poona between Hyder Ally, the Mahrattas, Nizam Ally Cawn and Moodajee Boosla. By the principal article of it, the Mahrattas, under Madjee Sindia and Tukajee Holkar, were to act against General Goddard in Guzzerat; Hyder Ally was to invade the Carnatic; the Nizam the northern Circars, and Moodajee Boosla, Bengal. The truth of this intelligence has since been fatally confirmed. The Nizam, the projector of the treaty, acted the part which he did, in revenge for the Presidency of Fort St. George, having concluded an alliance with his brother Bazalet Jung, by which they acquired possession of the Guntoor Circar; and Hyder Ally Cawn, very strongly expressed his disgust at our acquisition of that Circar. This business will doubtless be fully investigated; and it is foreign from my subject to take any further notice of it here. Moodajee Boosla was very unwillingly drawn in to take a part against us. Of this there cannot be a doubt, as he regularly kept the Governor-General informed of the designs

which were formed against us, and purposely delayed the march of his army until the season of action should be past, with the hope that in the last rains, our differences with the Mahrattas would have been accommodated. The Nizam has hitherto been inactive, though the original projector of the confederacy.

The army at Surat was strengthened by detachments from Bombay and Fort St. George; and General Goddard was furnished with discretional orders, should the treaty with the Mahrattas prove abortive. He took the field in December 1779; and soon after concluded a treaty with Futty Singh Guicawar, by which the extensive province of Guzzerat was equally devided between the East-India Company and him. He immediately advanced towards Ahmedabad, the capital of that part of Guzzerat, which was in the possession of the Mahratttas. This place our troops took by storm; a conquest which added greatly to the splendour of our arms. In three months he entirely subdued the whole province. Madjee Sindia, who had assembled the Mahratta forces, was marching with an intent to relieve Ahmedabad, not supposing that we should so soon be in possession of it. General Goddard leaving a garrison in this place, advanced towards the Mahratta army to offer them battle; which, notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, and the unfortunate event of the Bombay expedition, which must naturally have elated them, their General declined upon every occasion.

So anxious was General Goddard, knowing the good consequence of engaging the Mahratta army, that on the 2nd of April, 1780, he left his army on their ground

and advanced to storm the enemy's camp at the head of two hundred Europeans, ten companies of grenadier Seapoys, and three battalions of Seapoys two twelve and ten six-pounders, with the first regiment of Cavalry and the Candahar horse: with this force, so greatly inferior to the troops that retreated before the Mahratta army the preceding year, he advanced, passed their principal guards, and instantly attacked the main body drawn up ready to receive him. Our artillery did great execution amongst their numerous cavalry, and in an hour from the commencement of the action they retreated, after a considerable loss; nor did a single horseman appear to molest our army in its return to camp. Every action of this campaign was equally glorious to our arms. Captain John Campbell, of the Bengal establishment, was detached with a foraging party to a considerable distance from their camp, and on his return with a large convoy of provisions, he was attacked by Sindia at the head of twenty thousand men, the flower of the Mahratta army. Captain Campbell formed his detachment, consisting of two battalions of Seapoys, and four field pieces, to the best advantage, repulsed the Mahrattas who lost between five and six hundred men, many of whom were killed by the fire of the flank companies of our line. Captain Campbell, after this remarkable action, joined General Goddard without the loss of a man or of any part of his convoy. Lieutenant Welsh, of the Bengal establishment was detached by General Goddard on the 3d of May to surprise a body of six thousand Mahrattas; his force consisted of the first regiment of cavalry and a battalion of Seapoys. Lieutenant

Welsh, when he had performed half his march, found, by calculating the time which remained, that if he waited for his infantry, he should not arrive before day-break in the enemy's camp. He therefore came to the spirited resolution of advancing at the head of the cavalry only; with this force he entered the Mahratta camp, seized the enemy's cannon, which he turned upon them in their fight. The rout was general. The commanding officer and a great number of the Mahrattas were killed; and the artillery, bazar, ammunition, &c., fell into our hands. No victory could be more decisive: and this officer had the good fortune soon after to get possession of two forts, which entirely completed the conquest of Guzzerat.

Major Forbes, of the Bengal establishment, at the head of two battalions of Seapoys, effectually surprised and routed a body of seven thousand Mahrattas, and with this action closed the campaign of 1780, both parties retiring to quarters for the rainy season. General Goddard commenced the present campaign by the conquest of the important fort of Bassein, and by a decisive victory over the Mahratta army, which had been sent to relieve the place. The Mahrattas themselves deeply feel the loss of this important fortress which they had taken from the Portuguese after a siege of two years.

I now return to the transactions in Bengal, where the measures proposed by Mr. Hastings were attended with the most brilliant advantages.

When the Governor-General found, by General Goddard's dispatches, that we had no hopes of an accommodation with the Mahrattas he concluded that

the only mode of bringing them in one campaign to reasonable terms would be by attacking them in every quarter. For this purpose he entered into a treaty with the Rana of Gohid, an independent Prince, whose country had been invaded by them. Mr. Hastings's motives for entering into this alliance were, to distress the Mahrattas, by making a considerable diversion in one of their best provinces, in conjunction with the Rana's forces, and if possible, to acquire possession of the important fortress of Gualier. But he had another view, which would effectually have humbled the Mahrattas, and in which he must have succeeded, if the distracted state of our Government, and the continual reports of his dismission from his station, had not deterred the Rajahs dependent upon them from entering into a closer connection with us.

The principal revenues and resources of the Mahrattas arise from the annual tribute paid to them by the Rajahs of Oudepore, Joudpore, Zeynagur, Bopaul, Narva, Bundlecund, &c., &c. These Princes, who take every opportunity of evading their payments, had now a fair opportunity of shaking off their dependence. And had the Government of Bengal been at liberty to have exerted itself at this time, or had not an idea of a change of men and measures unhappily been industriously propagated throughout Indostan, the Mahratta war would have been concluded upon our own terms many months ago.

I will now proceed to relate the important consequences which were produced by our alliance with the Rana of Gohid, small as his dominions may be. When the treaty was concluded, the Mahrattas were in

possession of the best part of his country. Major Popham, at the head of 2,000 Sepoys, 40 European artillery, a body of 120 horse, and 4 field pieces, 6-pounders, marched to his assistance. With this little army, he in a few months drove the Mahrattas out of the Rana's country; pursued them, and entirely conquered one of their provinces, producing an annual revenue of six lacks of Rupees. In the course of this service he took several forts, beat up the Mahratta camp; nor were all the efforts of above 15,000 Mahrattas able to oppose the success of his gallant little army. The most important action still remains to be related. When Major Popham's detachment had cantoned for the rains, Mr. Hastings proposed to him to make an attempt upon Gualier. He knew this place to be so strong that it never could be taken by regular approaches; and he knew too, that the enemy, confident in the natural strength of the place, would be more liable to be surprized. The importance of the conquest may be well conceived when it is known, that by all ranks of men in all ages, this place has been denominated the impregnable fortress of Gualier. As such, Colonel Dow speaks of it in several parts of his *History of Indostan.*

In a country where we retain our authority, by an opinion which the natives have, not only of our superior genius for war, but also our good fortune, such a conquest, at such a time, would be equal to the most decisive victory in the field. I believe there was not a man in Bengal who differed in opinion with Mr. Hastings as to the importance of this place; but I well remember when the treaty with the Rana of Gohid was

concluded, the impossibility of our getting possession of Gualier was frequently mentioned. Major Popham, who by the surprize of this place, has acquired immortal honour in India, had the good fortune to receive some important information from a party of Mewattes, who had found means to enter the place by night at different times.

He employed spies to examine the place where these men had entered, and from their report, conceived the design to be possible. In compliance with Mr. Hastings's repeated solicitations, and guided by his own judgment, he made every preparation for the attempt with the utmost secrecy, only two persons being privy to it. The night before the execution of it, he wrote to the Governor-General, informed him that the attempt was to be made early the next morning, and he hoped in case of failure, that Mr. Hastings would do him the justice to say, it was at his desire that he had undertaken an enterprize which, if it failed, would be denominated rash and impracticable; if it succeeded, would redound as much to the honour of the Governor-General, by whose advice it was undertaken, as of those by whom it was executed. The success was equal to the spirit and prudence of the action; it was taken on the 4th of August, 1780, and that with the trifling loss of 20 Sepoys wounded.

It is impossible to describe the despondency of the Mahrattas upon this important event. The whole country adjoining to Gualier was immediately evacuated by their troops, and our military reputation proportionably raised. This was the favourable moment for us and if Mr. Hastings could have profited by it, as he

wished to have done, the power of the Mahrattas in India would have sunk at once. Mr. Hastings, previous to the capture of Gualier, had proposed to form a strong detachment in Gohid, for the purpose of advancing into the province of Malwa, the country of Sindia, the Mahratta General. In this the Governor General was overruled; although he had every reason to believe, that in the conduct of that branch of administration he was to meet with no opposition. If the detachment had been formed, as Mr. Hastings had proposed, the capture of Gualier ensured us the utmost success in its operations.

General Goddard had earnestly pressed the Governor-General and Council to invade the province of Malva, which would have diverted the attention of Sindia from Guzzerat; and one campaign would have finished the war with honour and advantage on our side. An event which no Member of Board more earnestly wished to see accomplished than Mr. Hastings; particularly as Hyder Ally Cawn had, in July, 1780, invaded the Carnatic, where our forces were utterly unprepared to receive him.

On the 19th of September an express arrived in Calcutta from the Secret Committee of Fort St. George, informing the Supreme Council that the flower of their army had been cut off or taken prisoners by Hyder Ally, and that Sir Hector Munro, with the part of the forces under his command, had retreated to the mount with loss of his baggage and of part of his artillery. This intelligence was accompanied by advice that a considerable French fleet, with land forces on board, were on their way to India.

This important intelligence left little room for deliberation, and at the first meeting of the Board, the Governor-General proposed that Sir Eyre Coote should be requested to take the command of the army at Madras. That a reinforcement of Europeans should be sent to the coast by sea, with a supply of fifteen lacks of Rupees; and that a large detachment of Seapoys should be formed to march to the Carnatic as soon as the season would permit. That an instant offer of peace should be made to the Mahrattas upon terms so advantageous to them, as almost to ensure their acceptance of them. The season was so far advanced that the embarkation of troops would be attended with difficulty and danger. But the Governor-General, justly considering that every risk was to be run, when probably the very existence of the Company would depend upon their arrival, despised every inferior consideration. Mr. Francis opposed the embarkation of the troops, and would only agree to seven lacks of Rupees being sent from Bengal. However all these motions were carried by the majority; and Sir Eyre Coote, with six hundred and forty Europeans, fifteen lacks of Rupees, and a great supply of provisions arrived at Madras, in less than two months, computed from return of the army under Sir Hector Munro, at the mount on the 14th of September, to the arrival of the last ship of the fleet, the Duke of Ringston, at Fort St. George, on 5th of November. It will undoubtedly reflect great honour upon Mr. Hastings and Sir Eyre Coote, that they had spirit enough to afford such extraordinary aids to the Presidency of Fort St. George, at a season in which the navigation

from Bengal to Madras had hitherto been interdicted on account of the dangers which attended it.

I have related as briefly and as clearly as I was able, the rise and progress of the Mahratta war, from the 12th of December, 1777, to the close of the year 1780. Upon what ground or suggestion this war can be attributed to Mr. Hastings, let every man judge who reads this account.

The occasion of the war was planned and executed without the knowledge or previous consent of the Governor-General, who had no other participation in it than by providing by an extraordinary exertion for the support of the measures undertaken by the Presidency of Bombay if they succeeded, and for its preservation if they failed. The Court of Directors have warmly approved of the exertions made by the Government of Bengal. Colonel Goddard arrived seasonably for the preservation of Bombay, and for the redemption of the national honour, which had without it been irretrievably lost. Our success in every part, after the Mahrattas had rejected all reasonable terms of accommodation, gave the Governor-General the strongest hopes of speedily terminating it by such advantages as should have amply recompensed the Company for the expenses which had attended it, and the calamities with which it had commenced. In the midst of our successes, another and more interesting occasion called for the exertion of the Government of Bengal. The preservation of Fort. St. George depended upon their resolutions. The misfortunes upon the coast cannot be attributed to Mr. Hastings. If the

general opinion is to have weight, the invasion of the Carnatic might have been prevented by the assembly of our army in the month of June. If the concession of the Nizam to Mr. Holland may be credited, (and it is confirmed by evidence of the most public notoriety) that invasion was the sole effect of a confederacy formed at his instigation, and dictated by his resentment of the infringements made by the Select Committee of Fort St. George, on his rights obtained by the treaty subsisting between him and the Company, and his natural apprehension of hostilities, intended by that Government against him.

When Mr. Hastings proposed to conclude a treaty of peace with the Mahrattas, he recommended to the Board to form the treaty in Calcutta, to send it executed by the Supreme Council, to Moodajee Boosla, the Rajah of Berar, who had repeatedly offered himself as mediator between our Government and the Mahrattas. This treaty was rejected, and the reason was obvious; Hyder Ally Cawn had cut off a third of our army. He had taken Arcot, when he was proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic. He had boasted that he would prevent the English army from moving from the mount, and that he was to be joined in a month by three thousand French regulars from the islands, when he would commence the siege of Fort St. George. The French fleet, six sail of the line, and five frigates appeared on the coast of Coromandel. Under these circumstances, the Mahrattas deeming our situation a desperate one, rejected all treaty, except upon the most disgraceful terms to us.

Sir Eyre Coote took the field on the 23d of January,

1781. On his march to Pondicherry, he repeatedly offered battle to Hyder Ally Cawn.

His detachments were upon all occasions successful, against every superiority of numbers. The army under his command was the finest that ever took the field in India, in point of discipline and numbers, and completely provided with artillery and military stores. The men were eager to revenge the late defeat and destruction of their companions. The French fleet, after appearing off Madras, on the 29th of January, went off without even making an attempt to destroy the ships in that road, in which they must have succeeded. The fleet had not a single soldier on board, except their marines, and on a report that Sir Edward Hughes was returning from Bombay to the coast of Coromandel, quitted the coast on the 16th of February, and returned to the islands. Hyder Ally thus disappointed, will not be able to maintain his ground in the Carnatic. In addition to the army under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, Colonel Pearse was advancing from Bengal, with ten battalions of Seapoys and twenty pieces of cannon. This force would arrive in the neighbourhood of Madras in the month of June.

The Mahrattas at the commencement of this campaign, had been defeated in a general action by General Goddard, who the day after took the Fort of Bassein. Lieutenant Colonel Carnac, advancing at the head of twelve battalions of Seapoys, to the province Malwa, has had the good fortune to gain a complete victory against an army of 30,000 men, commanded by Sindia in person, the effect of which must be greatly

beneficial to General Goddard's designs. Gualier was garrisoned by our troops, and by that means a safe communication was preserved with the dominions of our ally the Vizer. Our forces in Bengal were so stationed as to prevent all danger from an invasion should it be attempted. These favourable circumstances make an honourable peace with the Mahrattas a probable event.

In this review of the rise and progress of the Mahratta war, let it be remembered that the main design of marching an army across India, was not to assist the Presidency of Bombay in the execution of their original plan, but to support them in the consequences of it to us, and to protect the interests of the East-India Company, from the effects of a connection, well known to be formed between the ruling member of the Mahratta state and the avowed agent of the King of France. General Goddard very opportunely arrived at Surat for the preservation of Bombay. The Governor-General, who saw in as strong a light as any other member of the Board, the disadvantages even of a successful war with the Mahrattas, (however great the necessity might be of retrieving our military reputation) should the operations be continued beyond one campaign, proposed to them the most equitable terms of peace; and in a letter which he himself drew up to the Committee at Bombay, the Supreme Council observe, "Having given full powers to Colonel Goddard to "negociate and conclude a peace with the Mahrattas, "we have only to repeat, that we look to the issue of "that commission as our primary object, and the

" termination of all our political views on your side of " India, if it shall prove successful." To Colonel Goddard, the Board observe, "Our first desire is to " obtain peace."

When Ragonaut Row had escaped from Madjee Sindia, and had joined General Goddard, who consented to give him personal protection, the Supreme Council approve of its being continued to him, provided he shall " not attempt to defeat the effect of " your negociations, to which you are to give your " entire attention without regard to any other con- " sideration." With such proofs of Mr. Hasting's sincere disposition to accommodate our differences with the Mahrattas, what are the grounds to suppose he was less inclined to a pacification than Mr. Francis, or any other member of the Board? The Governor-General was not at all involved in the disgrace which the gentlemen of Bombay had incurred by their ill-timed expedition; on the contrary, the Court of Directors had conveyed to him, by an express over land, their approbation of the part which he had taken in their affairs. The answer of the Poona Durbar to our proposals, was conveyed in few words. " They " would only consent to a peace on these conditions." " That we should give up the person of Ragobah, and " cede the island of Salsettee to them." Was it even proposed by any member of the Supreme Council to purchase a peace by such concessions? It was not. The war was therefore a war of necessity on our part, and from this moment it ought to have been prosecuted with the utmost vigour. Thwarted and opposed as the Governor-General was, the brilliant successes

which have attended our arms will fully prove, what our Government when united, may be capable of.

That I might not break in upon the narrative of the Mahratta war, I have passed over the other transactions of Government, during that period. The resolution to commence hostilities against the French, on the 7th of July, 1778, before any regular advices of a rupture had been received from England, reflects honour upon every member of the Supreme Council in proportion to the responsibility which each incurred by so spirited a measure. The celerity with which two ships of 40 guns each were fitted out, and joined Sir Edward Vernon before Pondichery, arriving there against the monsoon, in less than two months from the day when they were ordered to be equipped, the plan formed for the defence of the river, when the destination of the Toulon fleet was unknown, the reinforcements ordered to be raised for the army, the disposition of our forces, and the assembly of the militia, are substantial proofs of the attention of the Governor-General and Council, to the preservation of the valuable empire committed to their charge, and the spirit which animated all ranks of men living under their Government.

Why the French missed so favourable an opportunity of attacking us on the Malabar coast we know not, but it would have been a very poor satisfaction to his country if Mr. Hastings had stopped the march of the army destined for the preservation of Bombay, at so critical a period, either on account of the expense attending it, or to add still more to the security of Bengal, already well secured, if that place had been

attacked the following year. The majority of the Supreme Council therefore, determined at this time that their army should advance; and the Governor-General had the strongest and best founded expectations of carrying the projected alliance with Moodajee Boosla into execution; which was intended effectually to preclude the French nation from territorial possessions in every part of India.

The temporary agreement between the Governor-General and Mr. Francis, and the extraordinary event it produced, are facts, the elucidation of which is disagreeable. Certain it is some agreement was made as to the conduct of the war, as certain that Mr. Hastings as well before as in the meetings which he had with Mr. Francis, insisted that as the whole responsibility of the war with the Mahrattas was, by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler, thrown upon him, he should have the entire conduct of it, and as certain that the persons in Mr. Hastings's confidence understood that was agreed to.

The Governor-General's plan for carrying on the war was confessedly the best that could have been proposed. The operations of a small army, the last campaign, had put us in possession of an extensive country, had considerably added to our military reputation, and during the rains, that very season in which Mr. Francis contended nothing could be done, Major Popham took the important fortress of Gualier. By Mr. Francis's opposition to the Governor-General's plan our army, which was formed the last campaign, was distressed for pay, and continued inactive when it might have moved with great effect; that army

which must have so completely divided the forces and the attention of the Mahrattas, and made us successfull in every quarter.

The plan which Mr. Hastings proposed for carrying on the Mahratta war exactly corresponded with one drawn up by an excellent officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Upton, of whom Mr. Francis himself had the highest opinion. This gentleman had travelled to Poona by land, and his sentiments were certainly a strong confirmation of the propriety of the Governor-General's propositions. The great expenses of the war are doubtless to be lamented, but there are seasons when great expenses are absolutely necessary, nor can a Government, like ours, hope to be secure, if in time of war we are contented to guard our frontier only. This we must do at a considerable expense, and with the loss of reputation; but by invading the dominions of our enemies, we have kept them at home, we have deprived them of resources for carrying on the war, we have infused such a degree of spirit into the native troops in our service, that they look upon themselves as invincible when headed by British officers; and the conquest which we have made, would have amply repaid us for all our expenses, had the invasion of the Carnatic not taken place.

The Governor-General would have had no difficulty in extending the influence of the Company through all the countries now dependent upon the Mahrattas, if the native powers of India had had the same opinion of the continuance of his authority, as was universally entertained of his superior abilities and good fortune. But unfortunately, Mr. Hastings, notwithstanding his

utmost efforts, could never efface those ideas which had so generally been conceived from Benares to Dehly, and in the Deckan, of his speedy removal from the Goverment of Bengal.

Before Sir Eyre Coote's arrival, it was universally given out by the friends of Mr. Francis, that he would undoubtedly take a decided part against Mr. Hastings. These declarations so often repeated, made a deep impression upon our allies, and were attended with very serious consequences. I will mention one that immediately occurs to me.

When our military establishment was considerably increased, in consequence of the war with France, Mr. Hastings thought it reasonable that Cheyt Sing, the Raja of Benares, and a vassal of the Company, should pay a proportion of an expense incurred for our common defence. This he fixed at five lacks of rupees per annum, and the Raja was with some difficulty prevailed upon to advance this sum, but he positively refused to continue the payment beyond the first year, and in this resolution, he was confirmed by a knowledge of Mr. Francis's sentiments, who disapproved of any compulsion being used for the continuance of the payment. The intrigues of the Raja's vackeel in Calcutta, previous to the General's arrival, were very well known, but as Sir Eyre Coote supported the authority of the Governor-General, the Raja was obliged, not only to pay five lacks of rupees for another year, but in addition to it, the expenses incurred by the march of two battalions to Benares, for the purpose of enforcing the payment, if he should continue obstinate. If the Raja had not received the most positive

assurances from his agent in Calcutta, that Mr. Francis was on the point of succeeding to the Government, he never would have reduced Mr. Hastings to the necessity of taking so violent a measure, for the support of his own authority and the Company's interests.

If the expectation of a change in Bengal had been productive of no effects, more detrimental to the public service, than the contemptible opposition of the Raja of Benares, it had been fortunate; but independent of the great relaxation of Government, in our own provinces, which was, and always must be the consequence of it, such an expectation very essentially interfered, with the only plan by which the Mahratta war could be brought to a speedy, and successful termination. The Rajas of Jaynagur, Narva, Bundlecund, &c. were all, I can affirm from the best authority, eager to throw off their dependence upon the Mahrattas, the slightest assistance from us would have enabled them to do it; the successful operation of Major Popham's little army has very probably produced this effect, if a peace is not yet concluded.

Our political influence was extended immediately upon Mr. Hastings's accession to the chair. Every power in India has an agent in Calcutta, and these men regularly transmit to their principals the intelligence of the day. Influenced by the intelligence thus received they have universally dreaded, and expected Mr. Hastings's removal, and have been deterred from taking part with so unsteady a Government.

Mr. Francis will excuse me for observing that he is responsible for the fatal consequence which followed,

from the opinion of a change in the Government being so universal. The paragraphs of the general letters, from the direction which reflected most severely upon Mr. Hastings, were industriously circulated; Mr. Francis, in the most unreserved manner, expressed his certainty of succeeding him in a few months, nor could all the efforts of Mr. Middleton at Lucknow, or Mr. Graham at Benares, obviate the bad effects which such positive declarations produced throughout Indostan. I affirm nothing can be so detrimental to the interests of the British nation in India, as a divided or unsettled administration in Bengal, and whatever system the Court of Directors may adopt in future, or whomever they may think proper to employ, they ought to give the ruling members every public support in their power. The hands of Government should be strengthened by every possible means. Prosperity attended the confidence which they placed in Mr. Hastings, and reverse of fortune, the diminution, or more properly the annihilation of his authority.

I now beg leave to offer a few remarks upon the state of our affairs in India.

Our situation is indeed so very alarming, that there are many men who will believe, and many more who will affect to believe them irretrievable; I must confess that it will require all the ablilities, the integrity, and the firmness of the Governor-General, with every possible degree of support that can be given from home to restore Bengal to its former prosperity, but that Mr. Hastings will effect this if he is treated with that confidence which his great and important services entitle him to expect, I have not the smallest doubt.

What was our situation in Bengal, when Mr. Hastings arrived there in 1772; and what is it at this time? To bring this subject to one point of view, I must recapitulate what I have already observed. At the former period, the Company's debt at interest was above one hundred and twenty lacks. The Court of Directors the season before had been drawn upon for one hundred and twenty lacks. There was no prospect of providing future investments but by an increase of the bond-debt, as our civil and military expenses were barely defrayed by the annual revenues. In one year only what a change was effected. The alliance with Sujah Dowlah brought such an ample supply of treasure into Bengal that every service was fully provided for and the bond-debt reduced. Until this period, our foreign connections only served to accelerate the ruin of our provinces by draining them of the little specie that remained in them.

No one good effect was experienced from our alliance with Sujah Dowlah before Mr. Hastings's accession to the chair; an entire brigade kept at Allahabad, which was paid by the exportation of silver from Bengal, was a ruin.

A very considerable sum was saved by the reduction of the stipends paid to the Nabob and his Ministers. In this particular, where the interest of the Company was concerned, Mr. Hastings paid a pointed attention to the orders of the Court of Directors. At the season when the Supreme Council arrived, our investment was so considerably increased, that two extra ships, the *Anson* and the *Northumberland*, were sent home. The following year we obtained a clear additional

revenue of twenty-four lacks from Benares, and the expense of at least a third of our army was defrayed by the Vizier. These beneficial advantages are the result of Mr. Hastings's treaty of 1773; a treaty which the majority of the Supreme Council decried in all its parts the first month of their arrival. China, Bombay and Madras, have been supplied with treasure to a very considerable amount, and the annual investment from 1774 to 1779, was considerably above a million sterling each year. The bond-debt was entirely paid off, and a large balance of cash in our treasury. I had forgot to mention the erection of public granaries, by which the return of famine, which so depopulated that country, is totally prevented.

A series of events which I have already related brought on the Mahratta war; a war in Europe obliged us to increase our military establishment very considerably, to provide a marine force, to reinforce Sir Edward Vernon, and for the defence of the river. These exertions were attended with additional expense but they were absolutely necessary, and have been fully approved of at home. The French, contrary to their usual policy, missed the fairest opportunity which they ever could have had to regain their influence in India. Why they were so remiss we know not, but what would Mr. Hastings have deserved had he taken no steps to counteract their intrigues at Poona, and in consequence of them two regiments and a hundred French officers had landed at Choule. When our successes against the Mahrattas gave us every reason to expect an honourable peace, the Carnatic was invaded. This was a fresh demand upon Bengal for men,

money, and provisions. The exertions of the Governor-General and Sir Eyre Coote have saved Fort St. George. After so many great drains from our treasury, after supporting an expensive war against the Mahrattas, and affording Bombay such effectual assistance in cash, provisions, and stores, after doubling our investment for many years, that debt which, when Mr. Hastings came to the chair, was above one hundred and twenty lacks, was on the 15th of December last only sixty-six lacks of current rupees, and we had eighty-eight lacks of goods in the Company's ware-houses.

I have already stated my reasons for supposing that we are now at peace with the Mahrattas. An accommodation with Hyder Ally, or his entire overthrow must soon follow. When these events have taken place, our military establishment may be considerably reduced; the Presidency of Bombay must support its expenses from the revenues arising from their late acquisitions. The Carnatic cannot recover itself for many years. Before its invasion the country was almost ruined, and the Nabob either wanted, or pretended to want, money for his private expenses.

The Government of Bengal must supply Bombay and Madras with cash, as it has constantly done, if their own resources are inadequate to their disbursements. And from the revenues of Bengal must the interest of their bond-debts be paid. This I contend can easily be done if some care is taken to prevent Bengal from being unnecessarily drained of its specie, and if foreign trade is properly encouraged. To effect these points the Court of Directors must fix upon some equitable mode, by which the private fortunes

of their servants can be remitted to England. At present they are under an absolute necessity either of sending their fortunes home in cash, which is ruinous to Bengal; or of lending their money to foreigners, by which means the Company's sales in England must be essentially injured.

If foreigners should once be under the necessity of bringing bullion to Bengal to purchase cargoes, such a flow of treasure to our exhausted provinces would amply compensate for a trifling diminution of the public sales in England; and if the Company's servants are restricted from lending money to foreigners, they must either bring bullion to Bengal, or relinquish the trade altogether. I can say from my own knowledge, that it is from necessity, not choice, the Company's servants supply them with cash. But an equitable mode of remittance, once fixed by the Directors, dismission from the service should be the punishment of any man who should lend money to foreigners or to foreign companies.

Perhaps the Court of Directors do not know the extent to which this trade is now carried on. Four Portuguese ships have sailed from Bengal this year. I came to Lisbon in one of them. Her cargo was valued at five lacks of rupees. The others were still more valuable. Some of these ships were taken up in India, the captains and owners borrowed as much money as they wanted to purchase both ships and cargoes, on the following terms; The lenders to receive 12 per cent. interest, and two shillings for each current rupee at Lisbon three months after the arrival of the ship. Prejudicial as this trade may appear to

the Directors, it is not half so ruinous to Bengal as the remittance of fortunes in silver would be. The Dutch and Danish Companies, as well as individuals of both nations, have borrowed large sums last year, and the season preceding, upon the terms above mentioned.

The trade to Suez, should if possible, be again opened; it is advantageous to Bengal in every point of view, and can never interfere with the Company's sales in England. Mr. Hastings deserves the highest credit for his encouragement of this trade, and for his attempts to establish a regular communication with our native country by this route. We owe the early capture of Pondicherry entirely to it.

I own I depart from the line of my profession when I presume to hazard opinions upon commercial subjects, but as I have been fifteen years in Bengal, and have not been an unconcerned spectator of the various changes which have happened in that time, I may be excused for declaring my sentiments upon a subject of such importance.

Arts, agriculture, and commerce, have greatly increased since my first arrival in India. The riches of Bengal are its manufactures. For them there will always be a market, and while we increase in population we must increase our manufactures. Mr. Hastings, it must be recollected, succeeded to the Government at a most unfavourable period. The loss by the dreadful famine of 1770, has been estimated at four millions of people; and from my own observations in various parts of Bengal I do not think this an exaggerated account.

However I may be mistaken when I speak of trade, I will venture to affirm, that our affairs in Bengal are much more alarming in appearance than in reality.

Let us suppose that by the time the war in India is at an end, and a general peace has been established in Europe, the bond-debt in Bengal amounts to 200 lacks of rupees. This is not so large a sum as was in fact owing when Mr. Hastings came to the chair. The bond-debt was then 120, and the Directors had been drawn upon for above 100 lacks of rupees only the season before; I hope it will be recollected that this great debt was contracted in times of the *most profound peace*; and the greatest part of it even before the famine. Dreadful as was that calamity its effects were more severely felt after Mr. Hastings's accession to the Government than at the time it happened. It is a fact that the collections in the year of the famine, and the year after, were higher than in either of the two preceding ones.

The interest of 200 lacks of rupees will be 16 lacks a year. All our establishment upon a peace will be considerably reduced; and if the Governor-General is properly supported, the Government of Bengal will acquire a vigour, to the want of which, and not to the Mahratta war, we owe our present misfortunes.

To pay the interest of this debt let us examine our funds, and compare them with those of 1772. I will suppose the actual collections from Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, to be only what they were at that period.

The savings under the different heads of tribute to the King, stipends to the Nabob, his ministers and dependents, are at least 50 lacks of rupees a year.

The Vizier pays 70 lacks of rupees annually towards our military expenses.

We shall receive annually from Cheyt Sing 24 lacks of rupees.

When our dominions and our influence, at least an influence advantageous to the Company, were bounded by the banks of the Carumnassa, our military expences were 105 lacks of rupees a year.

Our connection with Oude, now so profitable, was a most disadvantageous one before Mr. Hastings arrived in Bengal. To the Company it was ruinous, although it answered the interested purposes of certain individuals perfectly well.

Can one good reason be given for the very curious deputation to Sujah Dowla, in 1768, against the opinion of Mr. Verelst, at that time the Governor of Bengal, or for keeping the third brigade at Allahabad until the middle of the year 1769 at the Company's expence.

The transactions of that period are worthy the public attention—I may enlarge upon them hereafter.

At a peace our military expences can and will be reduced to 110 lacks of rupees a year.

The interest of our debt, supposing it 200 lacks, will be 16 lacks a year.

When Mr. Hastings came to the Government the Company owed something more than 120 lacks.

Upon comparing the accounts of 1771, and they are applicable to a former period, with those at a so much wished for peace, the balance will be 133 lacks a year in favour of the Company, as appears by the following statement.

EXPENCES IN 1771.

	Rupees
Military,	105
Interest of bond-debt,	10
Paid in tribute, stipends, &c. but retrenched by Mr. Hastings	50
Total,	165

EXPENCES AT A PEACE.

Military,	110
Interest of debt,	16
Total,	126
Credit in favour of the Company,	
Difference of Disbursements,	39
Paid by the Vizier,	70
By the Raja of Benares,	24
Total,	133

While arts, manufactures, and commerce, are encouraged in Bengal; while the natives continue happy under our Government, and attached to it as the great body of the people are; while population increases, as it has done the last seven years, Bengal must be a most valuable country to Great-Britain; but it can only yield its tribute by increase of the annual investment.

Mr. Hastings has been very severely charged with

disobedience of orders—Upon this subject I must add a few words. I do not mean to justify the Governor-General's conduct by pleading precedent for it, yet I am reduced to the disagreeable necessity of contrasting it with the conduct of his predecessors in power in Bengal.

I affirm that it had long been reported, Mr. Hastings was to be dismissed the service, that Mr. Francis was to succeed him; and the reinstatement of Messrs. Bristow, Fowke, and Mahomed Reza Cawn were connected with Mr. Francis's accession to the Government. This report, circulated for months throughout Indostan, obliged Mr. Hastings to adopt measures which were by no means agreeable to the natural humanity of his temper, or to that regard to the just claims of individuals which he is known to possess. He assigned his reasons to the Directors for keeping them out of office, and if they were not approved, he of course expected to be dismissed from the service. To those who served in India I appeal, whether it is not absolutely necessary to strengthen the hands of Government by every possible means, and to impress the natives with an idea of its stability; that the reinstatement of Mr. Bristow, Mr. Fowke, and Mahomed Reza Cawn, would have had a contrary effect is universally known.

When General Richard Smith was Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in Bengal, and third member of the Secret Committee and the Council, he wrote the following letter to the Secret Committee, 24th November, 1767, and forced Mr. Verelst to do an act of greater severity than Mr. Hastings was ever

guilty of in the whole course of his political life. I must affirm here, that the East-India Company was saddled with the expense of an establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature, in consequence of the discussions which this famous letter produced.

"The nature of the intelligence transmitted from "Calcutta to Sujah Dowlah is without limits. The "Nabob is almost as well acquainted with the Par- "liamentary proceedings as I am; how far the impor- "tance and dignity of the Company, and the weight "and influence of administration is lessened in his "esteem by such communication may be easily "conceived. Whilst a Vackeel is so ready and so "sure a channel to communicate intelligence, few men "will be found so hardy as to maintain a direct corres- "pondence with the Nabob, but there is a man who "has obliquely offered so great an insult to *our* "*President*, that was I present at the Board, I would "move for the exertion of our authority to its utmost "extent to free the settlement from so dangerous an "inhabitant; I mean Mr. Bolts; and the enclosed copy "of a letter to Mr. Zentil, where he asserts an absolute "falsehood, which tends to lessen *that essential dignity* "*and necessary influence of our President*, is surely "deserving of your severest resentment."

I approve highly of General Richard Smith's arguments; if he had known how *the essential dignity and necessary influence of Mr. Hastings*, would have been affected by carrying the Director's order into execution respecting Mr. Bristow, he would upon his own principles have concurred in the disobedience of them, had he been a member, of the Supreme Council in December, 1779.

Three poor Armenians, the trading agents of Mr. Bolts, a keen trader himself, who perhaps wanted to come in for some share of the plunder of Oude and Benares, were afterwards seized, and treated with too much rigour. Most men of Bengal attributed General Smith's conduct to private motives. It is strictly justifiable upon public grounds; however I must add in this place, and I can prove it, that our connection with Sujah Dowlah at that time was ruinous to the East-India Company, in as great a degree as it was advantageous to a few individuals in power.

The Directors, most positive orders have been repeatedly disobeyed or evaded during my residence in Bengal. Two very particular instances I will now mention.

As soon as the Court of Directors were informed of the pernicious salt monopoly, they sent positive orders to Bengal to abolish it immediately on the receipt of their letter. In defiance of this order, the monopoly was continued almost two years longer, and the profits arising from it were divided amongst the members of the council, General Richard Smith (Commander-in-Chief at that time,) and the principal civil and military servants in Bengal.

The Directors had positively prohibited their servants in Bengal from drawing upon them except for a certain amount, and a rate of exchange much more favourable than the present. Yet by a resolution of the council in October, 1769, bills were drawn upon them at a very unfavourable exchange for the Company, to the amount of one million and sixty thousand pounds sterling. I affirm that three-fourths of the money paid into the

treasury in Calcutta might have been borrowed upon bond until the Directors' pleasure was known.

Let these instances of disobedience be compared by my fellow proprietors and the public, with the charges brought against Mr. Hastings.

I will here quote General Richard Smith's sentiments upon the subject of disobedience of orders.

In his minute of the 25th of September, 1769, when he proposed opening the Company's treasury, and granting bills upon the Directors, he says, "Although "the Court of Directors, orders are strong in prohibi- "tion, yet I think we shall be *fully warranted* to "deviate from those orders, and I do not think I "should perform my duty to the Company as a member "of their administration, if I did not enter this my "opinion upon the public records."

Upon another occasion, 24th November, 1767, General Richard Smith writes to the Secret Committee, whose orders he was bound to obey in the same degree as Mr. Hastings is those of the Directors. "My zeal for "the welfare of the state I serve would, on occasions "of great emergency, induce me not only to hazard "my commission, but even subject my life and "honour to the sentence of a general court-martial, "rather than the *public service* should suffer by delay. "Whenever I act *contrary to their orders*, it is not that "I entertain the most distant idea of disobedience or "*independence*, but from a conviction that *at this dis-* "*tance from the Presidency, their orders and the welfare* "*of the state may happen, they have happened to be in-* "*compatible, and whenever I take upon me to deviate* "*from their orders, it is not from independent authority*

" *I presume, because I know I am totally responsible to* " *them for such a deviation.*"

This is the language of a sensible man. It is manly language. It is the language of Mr. Hastings; but in the Governor-General's case, the arguments operate with ten-fold force when we consider the situation of Mr. Hastings and General Richard Smith; the former could only receive answers from *his superiors* in fifteen or eighteen months, the latter in as many days.

I will now mention a few essential points in which Mr. Hastings pointedly obeyed the orders of the Directors. He employed Nundcomar by their orders.

He reduced the Nabob's stipend from thirty-two to sixteen lacks of rupees. He abolished nominal pensions to a large amount. He suspended Mahomed Reza Cawn from his office; he brought him to a trial before the Council for his former conduct; and to the justice, the impartiality, and the attention of Mr. Hastings, Mahomed Reza Cawn has always declared, he was indebted for his life, which the villany of Nundcomar would have deprived him of. In November, 1773, Mr. Hastings received the thanks of the Directors for his great attention to their orders, and for his other eminent services.

Soon after the majority of the Supreme Council arrived in Bengal, they asserted that Mr. Hastings had made 40 lacks of rupees, or £400,000 from the revenues of Bengal in less than three years. The despicable character of the man on whose information this declaration was grounded, the well known moderation of Mr. Hastings, his active and vigorous administration, the state of his private fortune at that time

or at present, which any man may know that chooses to inquire, are solid proofs of the falsity and the folly of this assertion. 'Are the great servants of the Company who preceded Mr. Hastings in high stations, although not in the chair, willing to put their integrity to this test; will they declare the amount of their private fortunes?

I do affirm, that if public and repeatedly asserted declarations have any weight, the amount of the private fortunes of three gentlemen of high station, who left Bengal in the course of the year 1769, or in January, 1770, equalled the amount of all the private fortunes that have been accumulated during Mr. Hastings's government of ten years from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, by the civil and military servants of the Company.

If we were to judge from vague reports, what character could be sheltered from calumny. I can recollect perfectly well, that in the years 1768 and 1769, it was universally said in Bengal, that a mint was established at Allahabad; that the good rupees, which were so absurdly sent from Bengal and Bahar to that place were all recoined into base rupees, called Viziery; that our troops sustained a very heavy loss by being obliged to receive their pay in this base money. That twenty-six lacks of *sicca* rupees were annually sent from Bengal for the payment of the King's tribute, but that his Majesty actually received it in viziery rupees; and that a very considerable share of the profits arising from this coinage, which was said to be unauthorized by the Governor and Council, centered in the Commander-in-Chief, General Richard

Smith. It does not however follow that this was the fact. I have been long enough in India to know that men, who are deprived of the means of making money themselves, are very apt to exaggerate when they state the advantages of their superiors. It is very possible to investigate this matter thoroughly; and I must observe, that Mr. Hastings has been accused of peculation upon much more slender ground.

Upon the subject of presents received, which was one of the modes by which Mr. Hastings was accused of having made the enormous sum of £400,000 I shall make but one observation: That, upon a reference to the Governor-General's Durbar charges, it will be found he has brought to the Company's credit the sums which he received, and has drawn the amount of the presents he made from the treasury. This rule was observed, I believe, by his predecessors. In the consultations of the 8th of December, 1769, and since printed in the Reports of the Secret Committee of 1773, I find, that General Richard Smith made the Mogul, Shaw Allum, a present to the amount of £2000 sterling, *when His Majesty honoured him with a visit* to Sujah Dowlah, Bulwant Singh, and a string of *et ceteras*. Presents, for which he received from the Company one lack twenty-four thousand six hundred and six Souant rupees, or £16,000 sterling. I do not see the presents which he received in return brought to account; but if the invariable custom and usage of the country at that time to men of high rank and station was dispensed with, out of delicacy to his feelings, and he received no presents from the King, Suja Dowlah, &c., his liberality was a very unnecessary waste of the public money.

The execution of Nundcomar has been again brought forward. The ingenious *English* writer of A Letter from Calcutta has, without any foundation, quoted the most respectable authority for calling his death a murder. My observations upon it will be very short.

Nundcomar was employed by Mr. Hastings on his first arrival in Bengal at the express desire of the Court of Directors. Mr. Hastings's choice of the man excited very general surprise, as the cause was not known. Nundcomar's villany was detected in the affair of Mahomed Reza Cawn, and Mr. Hastings ceased to employ him. On the arrival of the Supreme Council he gave in the curious information which I have already mentioned. It is remarkable, that when Lord Clive and the Secret Committee of 1765, were invested with inquisitorial powers, Nundcomar gave in an information against Mr. John Johnstone and other servants of the Company, similar to that which he afterwards gave in against Mr. Hastings, and upon a full enquiry, the information was found to be void of the smallest foundation. Mr. Hastings commenced a prosecution against him. The majority and Mr. Joseph Fowke visited him in confinement; an attention which, of course, attracted the notice of every man in Indostan, and induced Nundcomar to suppose that he should be protected at all events by the Supreme Council.

I now come to the forgery. In 1762 a Gentoo was condemned to be hanged for this crime. The sentence was respited; and His Majesty was pleased to pardon the criminal; but I believe it was understood that the royal mercy would never again be

extended to a similar offender. Be that as it may, Nundcomar, when he committed a forgery many years after this period, accompanied with the most aggravating circumstances, well knew the consequence if he should be detected. A lawyer, in 1772, was said, and truly, I believe, to have received ten thousand rupees for suppressing his knowledge of the affair. Nundcomar was well acquainted with the nature of our laws. He had a hundred causes before the Mayor's Court at different times. Before his prosecutor complained, he offered to settle the affair for fifty thousand rupees. He repeated the offer after Nundcomar was in jail. Was Nundcomar's refusal supposed to be the result of conscious innocence? Was there a man in Bengal questioned the fairness of his trial, or the characters of the jurymen who found him guilty? Was he not universally deemed the most unprincipled of all the intriguing natives of Bengal? I am not an advocate for the judges; but, as a most illiberal and unjust motive has been assigned for their conduct, their desire to screen Mr. Hastings from the effects of his information, I must assert, and I do it in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Hastings was not concerned either directly or indirectly in the apprehension, the trial, or the execution, of Nundcomar.

The judges might have respited the execution of the sentence; I wish with all my heart they had; something may be urged in their favour upon this head. It was the first grand cause that came before them. I was at Berhampore, about 100 miles from Calcutta, at the time of Nundcomar's trial and execution. It was the common subject of conversation amongst men of all

ranks. I have heard the sentiments of several natives, then, and since, upon it. At the time, they very generally observed that Nundcomar, though he was undoubtedly guilty, was too rich a man to be hanged; and since his death, it was said he depended upon the interference of the Supreme Council, or he would have compromised the affair before his trial. Might not the judges be supposed to have acted as they did, from a desire to impress the natives with an idea of the justice and the impartiality of the Supreme Court? Would not the same set of men, who think Mr. Hastings capable of so villainous an action as influencing the judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, or those judges of being influenced upon such an occasion; would they not have concluded that Nundcomar, if his execution had been respited, had obtained that favour by improper means?

In this review of the transactions in Bengal I have avoided as much as possible every expression which may be supposed to convey a personal reflection. It is from necessity, not from inclination, that I have been obliged to contrast his conduct with any man's. However strong the provocation may have been, Mr. Hastings has upon all occasions attended solely to his own justification. It has been the fate of the Governor-General, whose liberality of sentiment can only be equalled by his moderation, or rather by his contempt of money, to be engaged in a perpetual course of party contention. No man could less merit such a fate. With integrity that has defended him against the most tempting offers of private advantage, with abilities and application that have surmounted the greatest difficulties, he

has been reduced to the painful necessity of defending himself from the extraordinary charges of private rapacity, and a want of zeal for the interest of his employers. To the first I shall only observe, that he has now been almost ten years at the head of the administration in Bengal, a period much more than sufficient to answer the private views of any man, if to accumulate money was his object. To the last, I shall oppose the very flourishing state in which the Supreme Council found Bengal, and in which it continued, until foreign wars; and what is still worse, a continued opposition to the Governor-General exhausted our treasury, and diminished or almost annihilated the necessary power of Government.

POST SCRIPT.

THE arrival of the *Belmont* enables me to carry on this review to the 31st of May last.

The Nizam remained inactive. In the latter end of April he expressed his wishes to join us in an alliance against Hyder Ally Cawn. On this account Mr. Holland remained at Hynicabad, although he had intended to quit it on account of his health. The Nizam's conduct is politic. Hyder aspired to the subaship of the Deccan, and had applied to the King for sunnuds, through Nuzeph Cawn.

The engagement with the Raja of Berar promises to be followed with the most important and beneficial effects. Colonel Pearse, in his march through Cuttac, received every assistance he stood in need of from the Naib of that province, and his camp was amply supplied with provisions. It is supposed he would be joined at Ellore by 2,000 of the Berar horse; the remainder of that army was on its return to Naigpoore, except that part of it which was to act in conjunction with our forces against Guramundela. It is impossible to detail the negociation which brought on this agreement, but it reflects great honour upon Mr. Hastings. Mr. Wheler, who entirely concurred in opinion with him, and Mr. Anderson, through whose agency it was concluded. No chout, as has been represented, was

either given or promised, and our superiority appeared through the whole course of the negociation.

On the same day, the 2nd of April, an agreement was signed between the Ambassador of the Nabob of Arcot and the Supreme Council on the part of the Company. By this agreement the whole revenues of the Carnatic are appropriated for the service of the war. Credit being given to the Nabob's creditors for the actual collections from those districts which had been previously assigned to them. The utility of this agreement will forcibly strike every impartial person.

Lieutenant Colonel Camac's night attack on the camp of Madjee Sindia was attended with very favourable consequences. Many of the chiefs who were compelled to join him had come over to us; and an overture for a pacification had secretly been made by Sindia himself. His army was dispersed, except about 7000 horse under Ambajee Punt, which were surprised and totally defeated by Captain Bruce, the officer who had so great a share in taking the fortress of Gualier. These successes and the alliance with Modajee Boosla gave us the fairest hopes of a speedy accommodation with the Mahrattas, and their junction with us against Hyder Ally Cawn; events which Mr. Hastings most anxiously wishes to accomplish.

Provincial courts of justice had been established, agreeably to the Governor-General's plan, and a control vested in the Chief Justice. The Company and the natives, after six months' experience, have sensibly felt the good effects of this regulation. To

the former it is a very considerable saving; to the latter it has insured an impartial and not an expensive distribution of justice.

The former mode of collecting the revenues has been abolished. An increase of 39 lacks or £390,000. is expected from this regulation; which is Mr. Hastings's plan, formed in 1773, and the propriety of it confirmed by eight years experience of the former defective system.

The revenue from salt will be 30 lacks of rupees or £300,000 sterling this year. The gentleman Mr. Hastings has placed at the head of his business, whose abilities and integrity have never been exceeded in Bengal, has made this declaration, and the authority is incontestible; so that the additional resources from the revenues of Bengal may fairly be estimated for this year at £690,000.

The cargo of the *Belmont* is valued at 16½ lacks or £165,000 prime cost; the *Neptune*, which was obliged to return to Bengal, had 14½ lacks or £145,000 on board; and there remained in the Company's warehouses in Bengal, goods to the amount of 59 lacks or £590,000.

The investment for 1781-2 is fixed at 90 lacks or £900,000 and was providing when the *Belmont* sailed; so that for the ships of this season, there will be goods to the amount of one million, six hundred thousand pounds in Bengal.

The Company's dispatches by the *Belmont* will prove what exertions the Government of Bengal is capable of when unanimity reigns in its councils.

On the 6th of July Sir Eyre Coote gained a decisive

victory over the army of Hyder Ally Cawn. In four days after the action Colonel Pearse's detachment, consisting of 7000 seapoys, 100 European artillery, 20 pieces of cannon, 100 disciplined cavalry, and 2000 Berar horse, would join Sir Eyre Coote; General Meadows, with 3000 Europeans, might be expected to arrive at Madras in September; so that we have every reason to believe that our next dispatches will be of the most favourable nature, both from Bengal and Fort St. George.

THE END.

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THE WONDERFUL FEVER PILL.

It is the only infallible remedy for and invaluable preventive of all sorts of chronic fever. Even in the most difficult and long standing cases, this medicine ensures immense good. For chronic fever, high or low, fever accompanied by enlargement of both spleen and liver or by cough, brain fever, &c., *Bijoya Batika* is strongly recommended. In all countries and climates, on all men, women, and children, *Bijoya Batika* confers equal benefit. No emigrant ship should sail without *Bijoya Batika* in her medicinal store. No soldier, planter and employer of labour in frontier countries, in malarious or marshy districts, and in the Terai should be without it, if he values his own life and the lives of those under him. For every Coolie Depot, Tea Garden, Silk or Indigo Factory, and Hospital, *Bijoya Batika* is particularly recommended. In short, every body who does not consider himself proof against chronic fever, cough, loss of appetite, debility, headache, giddiness in the head, &c., should make Bijoya Batika his inseparable companion.

Box. No. of Pills.	Price. Rs. As.	Postage. As.	Packing. As.	V.P. Comn As.
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Commission for one dozen box No. 1 is one Rupee ; box No. 2 One Rupee and eight annas ; box No. 3 two Rupees. Postage annas six, eight and twelve respectively.

V. P. P. charges extra. No Commission on purchase of less than a dozen boxes is allowed.

TESTIMONIALS.

(1) Mr. M. Bathars, Magistrate, Ngape, Burma, writes :—

Kindly send me per V. P. P. one box No. 4 of your "Bijoya Batika" containing 144 Pills at 4-4 per box. This is the 3rd lot that I have been getting these pills, which are the very thing for Malaria Fever of Burma climate.

(2) Babu Sreenath Gupta, Deputy Magistrate, Khulna (Bengal) writes :—

Several years ago, I found your Bijoya Batika very efficacious in my own case in allaying fever, which was accompanied with a deep abscess and which, the doctor who attended me could not abate. Since that, I have been a great advocate of the medicine. I have also found it useful as a general tonic. It keeps the bowels in regular order and prevents cold and fever.

(3) Mr. B. Singha, Principal, Rampore State High School, (Rohilkhand,) writes :—

Please send at your earliest possible convenience another box of your excellent Bijoya Batika. The one you had sent me before had a magical effect upon cases

which would not yield to Allopathic, Homœopathic and Unani (Hakimi) treatment, though these were successively given a fully fair and free trial. I have already recommended this sovereign cure-for-ague of yours, to many of my friends and acquaintances.

(4) Dr. Suresh Chandra Mittra, L. M. S., in charge of the S. P. Charitable Hospital, Gobardanga, 24-Parganahs, Bengal, writes :—

I have much pleasure to say that I have found your Bijoya Batika efficacious in cases of fever of malarial origin. In obstinate and protracted cases where quinine fails, it succeeds well. Please send me another box No. 3 of your excellent Pills.

(5) Mrs. Rogers of Lahore, (the Punjab) writes :—

Fever pills (Bijoya Batika) possess wonderful powers. I was suffering from fever for nine months and nothing could cure me until I used these pills. It should also be added as a matter of great satisfaction, that the use of these inexpensive Fever-pills has saved me from the hands of the extremely expensive Allopathic system of treatment.

(6) A. A. Shaw, Esqr., from 1, St. John's Road, Bangalore, South India, writes:—

I have derived much benefit from your Bijoya Batika. I shall feel obliged if you wonld send me another box, size No. 2, at 1-3 per return V. P. Post and oblige.

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TOOTH POWDER.

This novel preparation surpasses all others of its kind in strengthening teeth and removing all sorts of affection of the gums. It has cured thousands of painful and inflamed gums, of shaky teeth, and of the most obstinate gum-sores, emitting blood and pus at every rub. Besides its unrivalled usefulness, it is sweet to the taste, and delightful to smell. Its use always leaves an agreeable fragrance in the mouth for all day long and thus it has become a great favourite to the ladies here and abroad.

Each Box annas five; postage annas 4; packing, one anna, and if taken per V. P., one anna more for M. O. commission; if 4 boxes are taken in one parcel, the packing only 2 annas; postage and M. O. commission annas seven. Liberal commission allowed to wholesale dealers.

TESTIMONIALS.

1. Babu Peary Lall Halder, M. A., B. L., the famous Vakil and Attorney-at -Law, Calcutta High Court, thus writes:—

One of my relatives had a bad attack of gum-ulceration for which he became restless with agony. Blood and pus used to come out of the affected part and the patient was subject to excruciating pain. For some time he was under the treatment of a famous physician of

Calcutta, with no good result. Various household medicines were tried, but they proved equally futile. At last, he has completely got rid of this malady by using the famous Tooth Powder of Messrs. B. Basu & Co.

2. The late well-known Doctor Bepin Behary Maitra, M. B., wrote from 45, College Street, Calcutta :—

The Tooth Powder sent by you is the best of its kind I have ever used. A little quantity of it is sufficient to cleanse and perfume the mouth completely. Henceforth I will order for your Tooth Powder for my daily use.

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—:o:—

The matchless hair-oil, called the Fulela, is not only a fragrant hair-oil but also a medicine.

The fragrance of Fulela is such that, when used, it permeates the atmosphere all around, and the gentle breeze wafting it to a distance makes the passers-by pause and look about for the source of this wonderful perfume.

Fulela stimulates the pores and makes the hair thick, soft and glossy like silk. It prevents the hair falling off and is a specific for baldness. Fulela keeps the brain cool. In these days of mental strain, it is really a boon for the educated classes. After an

arduous mental labour use a little Fulela, and you will at once get refreshed and feel equal for more exertion. Nothing is equal to Fulela to keep the spirits cheerful and buoyant.

PRICE—One phial Re. 1 one each ; packing charge, As. 2 ; postage, As. six ; V. P. P. commission one anna.

Two Rupees commission paid for every dozen phial purchased or in other words a dozen phial may be had for Rs. 10 ten, packing charge, V. P. P. commission, and postage, &c., Rs. 3-2 three and annas two only. Six phials of Fulela may be had for Rs. 5 five only, packing, postage, &c. one Rupee and ten annas only. No commission allowed for less than half a dozen phials.

TESTIMONIALS.

(1) Honourable Mr. Sarada Charan Mittra, M. A., B. L., Judge, High Court, Calcutta, writes thus :—

"I have used your oil Fulela. It is excellent both as regards scent and as a cooler of the brain. It is better than similar oils."

(2) That well-known Vakil and Attorney of the Calcutta High Court, Babu Hirendra Nath Dutta, M. A., B. L., writes :—

"I have used two phials of your Fulela. It has effectively stopped the falling away of hair—the precursor to baldness. Even after a good bath the fragrance of Fulela lingers long behind."

To be had of Messrs. B. Basu & Co.,
79, Harrison Road, Calcutta.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

LATE TRANSACTIONS

AT

BENARES.

BY

WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

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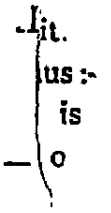
THE BANGABASI OFFICE.

38-2 BHAWANI CHARAN DUTT'S STREET.

1905.

Price Rs. Two only.

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A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

LATE TRANSACTIONS

AT

BENARES.

BY

WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, (SUCCESSOR TO MR. ALMON)

OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

1782.

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the most stirring events of the Indian history in the eighteenth century, is the one in connection with Chait Sing, the Raja of Benares. The historic Hall of Westminster resounded with the narration of this event when the famous Irish orator, Edmund Burke, raised his thundering voice on behalf of the people of India and impeached the great administrator, Warren Hastings, before the august Assembly of the Lords. Every reader of Indian history is acquainted with the fact, how the financial embarrassment of the government of Warren Hastings compelled him now and then to have recourse to questionable means of raising money, and how the indirect refusal of Chait Sing to submit to one of those unjust demands, ended most disastrously to the Raja. The following pages furnish the reader with an account of those occurrences, as given by Mr. Hastings to Mr. Wheler and the Council of Fort William, in explanation of his conduct. In these pages the writer, Mr. Hastings, professes "to deliver all the past transactions and occurrences with the strictest and most faithful regard to truth," and tries to justify the extraordinary measures he adopted in relation to the Raja, on the ground that the Raja had been dilatory, evasive, shuffling and unwilling to pay the subsidy

promised to the British Government, and also that he was aiming "at the total subversion of the Company and the erection of an independency on its ruins."

How far Mr. Hastings succeeded in justifying his actions in this narrative, is well known to the students of Indian history. However, the narrative has a special merit of its own which makes it acceptable even to the most inveterate enemies of Mr. Hastings. In it the reader finds a graphic account of the affairs at Benares towards the latter end of the eighteenth century, recorded in a forcible, lucid and convincing style which evokes the admiration of every student of history.

The publication of such a valuable book, the merit of which is all the more augmented by its rarity, requires, therefore, hardly any apology from its publisher. The publisher hopes, on the contrary, that the work will meet with most cordial recognition at the hands of the public, which it justly deserves.

THE BANGABASI OFFICE
Calcutta, March, 1905.

THE PUBLISHER.

TO

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

&c. &c. &c. AND COUNCIL.

Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE now the honour to send you the Narrative, which I promised in my letter of the 18th October, of the transactions and events which passed during the course of the late insurrection of this province.

I had begun it at the time of the date prefixed to it, but the busy scenes which followed, both while I was at Chunar and after my return to Benares, hindered me from prosecuting it till a few days before the date which I have subjoined to it. I did not choose to alter the introduction, although written at such a distance of time from that in which the body of the work was executed, and even from the existence of the events which are recorded in the latter, because I found it not easy to give it a new form, without a

total omission of what had been already produced, while my mind was animated by the recent, and actual scenes on which it was engaged. To an anxious and most feeling solicitude, not more for the issue of the impending contest, than for its consequences on my own reputation: in the consciousness of the rectitude of my own intentions, I had allowed myself to use an appeal, the most solemn and most sacred that could bind my relation to truth, or impress the conviction of it on the hearts of others; nor could I, consistently with my own sense of its obligation, withdraw it, or coldly place it after the narrative already written, and written under the check which I had imposed upon it. I know not whether I shall be clearly understood; if I am not, yet let this endeavour to explain a seeming impropriety in the construction of this performance be accepted for its apology.

I have only to add my hope, that as I have received the most cordial support in the past events from you, my respectable, and most respected associates in the administration; and as it has been my unvaried study to prevent your suffering any embarrassment from them, my conduct in them may also receive its first reward, in the testimony of your approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BENARES,
31st Dec. 1781. } (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

MR. HASTINGS'S NARRATIVE OF

THE LATE TRANSACTIONS

AT

BENARES.

Chunar, 1st. of September, 1781.

IN whatever manner the scene may close in which I am now engaged, the calamities with which it opened will not fail, in their first impression, to influence in some degree the minds of all men in forming their judgment of it. In the following Narrative, if I can trust to my own sentiments, or if those who shall read it will credit this declaration of them, I shall less study to efface that impression than seek to divest my mind of all partial bias, and to deliver all the past transactions and occurrences with the strictest and most faithful regard to truth; in which if I fail I fail unknowingly: and may the God of Truth so judge me, as my own conscience shall condemn or acquit me of intentional deception!

The motives and objects of my journey were various: with these the design of my transactions at Benares

had but a remote and secondary connection. I left Calcutta on the 7th of July. At Buxar, Rajah Cheit Sing paid me the customary duty of respect, by advancing to that place which lay the nearest to the boundary of his Zemidary. He brought with him a great fleet of boats, which, as I afterwards learned, were crowded with two thousand armed and chosen men. This circumstance was noticed by many of the gentlemen who accompanied me, and was certainly a deviation from the established rules of decorum; not only such as are observed from vassals to their superiors, but even such as pass between equals. An instance of this will be remembered by many to have happened at Benares, in the year 1773, in the meeting which took place there between the late Vizier Suja ul Dowla and myself. He had left his capital with a large retinue; but hearing that I came unattended, he dismissed his followers, and met me with a state as humble as mine.

I received the Rajah with civility, and without any expression of displeasure. I left Buxar the next morning, and received a second visit from the Rajah in my boat. After a short space, he desired to speak to me in private. The particulars of our conversation I do not exactly remember: I can only relate the substance of it. He professed much concern to hear that I was displeased with him, and contrition for having given cause for it, assuring me that his Zemidary and all that he possessed were at my devotion: he expressed his fears of Oossaun Sing, who had been some days in my suite, and of the intrigues of his relations; and he accompanied his words by an

action either strongly expressive of the agitation of his mind, or his desire to impress on mine a conviction of his sincerity, by laying his turban on my lap. I replied, that I had not seen Oossaun Sing, nor concerned myself about him, nor should I descend to be a party in his family disagreements; that my business was with him, and with him only: that what he heard, or might have conjectured of my displeasure, was true; and I entered into a full discussion of the causes of it; that I had been already once deceived by his oaths and protestations, and should not suffer my purpose to be changed, or my duty to be over-ruled, by any verbal concessions, or declarations which were made with little cost, and for the observance of which I had no pledge nor warrant to credit them. He pleaded his inability to answer my charges against him, admitted that he was in every respect faulty, but desired that I would forget the past, and form my opinion of him on his future behaviour: I declined any further conversation on the subject, and he took his leave.

As the preceding conversation was accidental, and made no part of the plan which I had concerted in my own mind for my conduct with the Raja, I kept no minutes of it, nor should have thought it deserving of a place in this narrative, but for the weight which he has since given to it, and that it might not be imputed to me as a designed suppression, if I made no mention of it, I shall proceed to relate the subjects to which it alluded, and add the purposes which I had in contemplation concerning them.

On the first intelligence of the war with France, in July, 1778, it was resolved in Council, that Rajah Cheit

Sing should be required to contribute an extraordinary subsidy for the expense which this new exigency had imposed on our Government; and the sum was limited to five Lacks of Rupees for the current year. After many excuses, and protestations of inability, he at length consented, with a very ill grace to the payment, and with a worse discharged it. The next year the same demand was repeated, and he attempted in like manner to elude it, affecting to borrow money in small sums, and to sell his plate and jewels to raise the sum; nor was it paid at last till he had reduced the board to the extremity of ordering two battalions of Sepoys to the neighbourhood of Ramnagur, and quartering them upon him, with their pay charged to his account until the whole payment was completed.

Early in the following year, about the month of May, he deputed Lalla Saddanund, who was his Buxey and the confidential manager of his affairs, on a private commission to me, to solicit my forgiveness for his past conduct, and to give me assurances, confirmed by oath, of his future submission to the orders of my Government, and compliance with my advice. I accepted his excuses, and promised him an oblivion of all that had passed exceptionable in his conduct, and my future protection and every good office in my power, so long as he adhered to his professions: requiring only as the pledge of their sincerity, that he would immediately notify his ready and unreserved consent to the demand which would be made upon him, this being the period for it, of the subsidy for the current year, and that he would use no delay in discharging it. I at the same time explained to Saddanund the nature of the demand, its conformity

to the customs of all States in times of extraordinary emergency, and assured him that, though he must expect a repetition of it every year so long as the war lasted, yet it could not be justly drawn into a precedent for enacting an increase on his regular and stipulated rent; and so far as it could depend upon me, I gave him the strongest assurances, and I believe very solemn asseverations, that it should not. Saddanund vowed the fullest obedience on the part of his master: the demand was accordingly made; and the Rajah answered it with a liberal and unreserved declaration of his acquiescence. I expected the immediate payment of the whole sum according to his engagement, and I placed a reliance upon it so far as to destine the appropriation of it to the support of the detachment, which was then acting in the Province of Malva, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Camac, not apprehending any policy which could warp him from the strong obligation of such an engagement, and from the evident interest which he had in fulfilling it. I was mistaken. The first payment was made in different periods in the course of a month, amounting to about a lack of rupees; and there, as I recollect, he stopped, and even descended to the meanness of writing to solicit the forbearance of the remainder, that it might be included in the regular payment of the ensuing year, which was then approaching. I am not possessed at this time of the materials for ascertaining the dates of the demand, and of his letter written in acquiescence of it, nor the dates and correspondent sums of the subsequent payments but I desire that these may be inserted by the Secretary as a note to this page of the

Narrative. * It is sufficient to say that the demand was made, and the whole payment consequently due, in July, that it was not until the month of October, nor until the same constraint was practised to compel his obedience as had been used in the preceding year, by an order for the advance of two battalions of Sepoys for that purpose, that the balance of the subsidy, which was two lacks and a half of rupees, was discharged. In the mean time the resident received an order from the board to remit the money, as he received it, by bills to the Pay-Master of Lieut. Col.-Camac's detachment; but these from the lateness of the receipts were not sent until the detachment had suffered the extremity of distress from the want of money, and very great desertions; all which calamities I charge to Rajah Cheit Singh's account, as it is certain that my reliance on his faith, and his breach of it were the principal causes that no other provision had been made for the detachment, and that it suffered such want in consequence.

It is with the greatest tenderness that I recur to the past dissensions in our Government; but I am compelled to it on this occasion for the elucidation of the conduct of this man, which had the appearance of being invariably guided by the reports which were made to him of the state of my influence. When

* July	—	—	—	—	100,000
August	—	—	—	—	50,000
September	—	—	—	—	100,000
20th of October		—	—	—	250,000
					500,000

he deputed his *Buxey* Saddanund to me in the manner I have mentioned, an apparent harmony had taken place in our councils, with the general expectation of its being permanent. The powers of our Government whenever united, and if I may use the term, consolidated by such an event, will ever recover the respect which is due to them, especially from those who have rendered themselves obnoxious to its terrors. The subject which produced the subsequent contest between Mr. Francis and myself originated a little before the departure of Saddanund from the presidency, but was not perhaps either generally known, or known to have grown into a decided breach, till the latter end of July. A reference to the proceedings of that period will prove the grounds of this supposition. It was the prescribed duty of Cheit Sing's Vakeels to furnish him with every little anecdote which bore any relation to the state of our Government: I believe that the deliberate manner in which he made the first payment of the subsidy of that year was dictated by the doubts suggested of the firmness of my authority; and I am morally certain that his subsequent excuses and delays in the payment of the residue of the subsidy were caused by the belief that I was no longer able to enforce it, and possibly (for such was the report) that a few months would close the period of my administration altogether. That I had his solemn promise in the manner which I have recited, to pay the subsidy, I as solemnly affirm; and his letter assenting to the payment, which is recorded in our consultations, is a strong presumptive evidence of it; and that he evaded

the performance of his promise, that he attempted to the utmost of his power to elude it altogether, is also proved by the record of the dates of the different payments, the minutes of the Board relating to them, and the order of the Board for the march of a detachment for the purpose of compelling him to perform it. That this order had a principal effect in bringing him to a compliance I believe; but I also attribute a share of it to the approaching departure of Mr. Francis, which was publicly and generally expected.

I owe it in candour to the gentleman, whose name I have reluctantly repeated in this digression, to obviate any inference which might otherwise be unwarily drawn from it, by declaring that I mean not, by the most distant hint, to impute any of this policy to him, and in my heart do totally and deliberately acquit him of any concern in it, however, in the instant resentment of disappointment, I may have suffered my mind to catch such a suspicion, although I believe that if I have, it has been sacredly confined to my own breast.

This was the first direct charge which I had to prefer against the Rajah: the second was similar in its quality and principle. On the second of the month of November, 1780, a resolution passed the Board, that a letter should be written to the Nabob Vizier, advising him to require from the Nabob Feyz Oolla Cawn the number of troops stipulated by treaty, expressed, as they were then understood to be 5,000 horse; and that the like demand should be made on Rajah Cheit Singh for all the cavalry in his pay, which he could spare for our service. At that time we stood in need of every aid that could be devised to repell the

multiplied dangers which surrounded us: the Rajah was supposed to maintain a very large and expensive force; and the strength of his cavalry alone was estimated at two thousand. I had formerly experienced their utility in the war with the Sineassies, in which they were successfully employed, and liberally rewarded. The demand was formally made, both in a letter from myself, and in person by the Resident, Mr. Fowke, in the easy and indefinite terms mentioned above. His answers were evasive, pleading, as I recollect, for I am not in possession of them, the scantiness of the establishment, its employment in enforcing the collections, and the danger of these failing, if the detachments were withdrawn. At length a more peremptory order was sent to him, and repeated by the present Resident, Mr. Markham. The number required was 2000, and afterwards reduced to the demand of 1500, and lastly to 1000; but with no more success. He offered 250, but furnished none.

These instances of contumacy and disobedience, criminal as they were in themselves, and aggravated by the extreme and known distresses and dangers of the superior state, to which he owed not only personal fealty, but every voluntary aid which all the resources of his Zemidary could contribute, appeared to me of less consideration as such than as they were evidences of a deliberate and systematic conduct, aiming at the total subversion of the authority of the Company, and the erection of his own independency on its ruins. This had been long and generally imputed to him. It was reported that he had inherited a vast mass of wealth from his father Bulwant Sing, which he had

secured in the two strong fortresses of Bidjeygur and Luteefpoor, and made yearly additions to it; that he kept up a large military establishment both of cavalry, of disciplined and irregular infantry, and of artillery; that he had the above and many other fortresses, of strong construction and in good repair, and constantly well stored and garrisoned; that his Aumils and tenants were encouraged and habituated to treat English passengers with inhospitality, and with enmity; that he maintained a correspondence with the Marattas, and other powers who either were or might eventually become the enemies of our state; and if the disaffected Zemidars of Fyzabad and Bahar were not included in the report, which I do not recollect, we have had woeful proofs that there was equal room to have suspected the like intercourse between them; and lastly, that he was collecting, or had prepared, every provision for open revolt, waiting only for a proper season to declare it, which was supposed to depend either on the arrival of a French armament, or on a Maratta invasion.

This design had been greatly favoured by the unhappy divisions of our Government, in which he presumed to take an open part. It is a fact, that when these had proceeded to an extremity bordering on civil violence, by the attempt to wrest from me my authority in the month of June, 1777, he had deputed a man, named Sumboonaut, with an express commission to my opponent; and the man had proceeded as far as Moorshedabad, when hearing of the change of affairs which had taken place at the presidency, he stopped, and the Rajah recalled him.

It may, perhaps, be urged in favour of Rajah Cheit Sing, that he was justifiable by the principle of good policy in seeking a state of independency; that we had no natural right to his vassalage, having acquired it, with all our other rights of dominion, by no other charter than the successful spirit of enterprize. Were this truly the case, it would reduce the relation between us to the primitive law of nature; and it would be equally incumbent on us on that ground alone to use every means to confirm and perpetuate his subjection, as it would be allowable in him to emancipate himself from it. But something more, I apprehend, was due, both as a political and even moral obligation from him. His father, Bulwant Sing, derived the degree of independency which he possessed during the latter period of his life, from the protection and intervention of our Government. His son, Cheit Sing, obtained from our influence, exerted by myself, the first legal title that his family ever possessed of property in the land, of which he, till then, was only the Aumil, and of which he became the acknowledged Zemidar, by a Sunnud granted to him by the Nabob Sujah ul Dowla, at my instance, in the month of September, 1773. On the succession of the Nabob Assof ul Dowla, the rights of sovereignty, which were held by him over the Zemidary, were transferred by treaty to the Company. Those rights were indisputably his, and became, by his alienation of them, as indisputably the Company's; and every obligation of fidelity and obedience, which is due from a Zemidar to the superior magistrates by the constitution of Hindostan, became as much the right of the Company from Cheit Sing,

as they had been due to his former sovereign, with the additional ties of gratitude for the superior advantages which he was allowed to possess with his new relation. The unexampled lenity of our Government, in relinquishing to him the free and uncontrolled rule of his Zemidary, subject to a limited annual fine, and the royalties of the mint, administration of justice and police, ought to have operated as an additional claim on his fidelity; but evidently served but to stimulate his ambition, and perhaps to excite in his mind an opinion that he possessed an inherent right of self-dependency.

I considered Cheit Sing as culpable, in a very high degree, towards our state, and his punishment, of which I had given him frequent warnings if he did not amend his conduct, as an example which justice and policy required, equally for the reparation of the wrongs which its dignity had sustained, and for the future preservation of its authority. I was resolved to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses, and to exact a penalty, which I was convinced he was very able to bear, from a fund which I was also convinced he had destined for purposes of the most dangerous tendency to the Company's dominion. In a word, I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency.

Those who have been accustomed to regard Cheit Sing as a vassal, or tributary prince, may revolt at the idea of treating him with such indignity, and call it an oppression. They will suppose nothing due from him to the Company but the payment of his

stipulated tribute, and *that* the pledge of his exemption from every other claim. I suspect too that the deeds, which passed between him and the Board on the transfer of his Zemidary to the Company in 1775, are by many understood to bear the quality and force of a treaty of optional conditions between equal states. To such I reply, that such an opinion is itself criminal to the state of which he was a subject, and that he was himself amenable to its justice if he gave countenance to the belief. He paid no tribute to the Company, but a fixed annual rent. The deeds by which he held his Zemidary, and the Company their claim to their portion of its revenue, were a *Sunnud*, or grant, and a *Potta*, or lease, executed on the part of the Company; and a *Cabuleeat*, or agreement, and *Kistbundee*, or account of payments to be made by instalments, on his part. These, excepting the special privileges allowed to the Rajah of the Mint, the Cutwallees of Benares and Jownpoor, the Foojdarree and Aumeeny; that is, so far as they relate to the Zemidary alone, are drawn precisely in the same forms as instruments of the same denominations interchanged with the Zemidars of Bengal. I refer to the instruments themselves, which will make a number in the Appendix to this Narrative, in which it will be seen on how different a tenure, and how infinitely below independency, he really held his Zemidary. The Sunnud and Cabuleeat are exact counterparts of each other. The former prescribes the revenue which was to be paid, and the duties which were to be performed, as the conditions on which the Rajah was confirmed in the possession of

his Zemidary; and of these conditions the Cabuleeat is a pledge or engagement for the performance. In the first, the "government and sovereignty" of the Zemidary, transferred by the Nabob Assof ul Dowla to the Company, are stated as the basis of it. The Zemidary is confirmed to him: a strict "observation and execution of the duties incumbent on him;" —"to behave with moderation and kindness to the "Reyots and people; to promote the cultivation and "increase of the inhabitants and produce of the lands;" to preserve the peace, and "punish the disturbers of it;" and to pay a yearly rent of 2,340,249 Mahidar rupees, in monthly payments, agreeable to the Kistbundy; are most strictly and positively commanded and enjoined:——And the officers of the Zemidary are commanded to regard him as the Zemidar, "and to "acknowledge his authority in the several acts ap-"pertaining thereunto." I must observe that, in the translation of the Sunnud, the yearly revenue is in one place, through the negligence of the translator, expressed by the word tribute: but it is not on the translation, nor on the will of the translator, that the rights of the Company depend. I affirm the word to be false, as it is inconsistent with the proper term "revenue," immediately following in the same translation, and with the same term "revenue," occurring in the translation of the Cabuleeat or agreement.

The Cabuleeat also sets off with stating the Company's sovereignty as the basis of the agreement; and acknowledges the grant made by the Company to Rajah Cheit Singh, of the Zemidary and other privileges recited in the Sunnud. And it proceeds

to express, that "it shall be his duty to do every "thing that may be needful and usual for the interest "and security of the country; to provide for the "welfare of the inhabitants; to be attentive to the "increase of cultivation and improvement of the "revenue; to use his endeavours "to expel robbers," "&c. and to pay the annual revenue of Government, "in the manner prescribed by the Sunnud."

To obviate misapprehensions I think it proper to remark, that in the above recital I have abridged the text where it was too prolix and involved for literal quotation, and given the substance in the closest sense of it; but where I have used the original words of the translations, I have marked them with inverted commas as such. The copies in the Appendix will shew with what fidelity I have conformed to the text in both instances.

I have dwelt with a greater stress, and with a more minute exactness on the foregoing subject, because it is on this point that the justice and propriety of my conduct must wholly turn. If Rajah Cheit Sing possessed the Zemidary of Benares in his own right, and with an inherent and exclusive authority; if he owed no allegiance to the Company, nor obedience beyond the payments of a stipulated tribute, I am liable to condemnation for exacting other duties from him, and for all the consequences of that exaction, and he is guiltless. But if the Company, possessing the acknowledged right of his former Sovereign, held an absolute authority over him; if in the known relation of Zemidar to the sovereign authority, or the power delegated by it, he owed a personal allegiance

and an implicit and unreserved obedience to that authority; at the forfeiture of his Zemidary, and even of his life and property, at the discretion of those who held or fully represented the sovereign authority; if, in corroboration of the general and implied obligation, he was bound to it by written engagements and specific conditions I am warranted in my assertion of the rights of Government, which were fully and wholly delegated to me; and he alone is responsible for his opposition to them, and for all the consequences which have attended that opposition.

Whether I have exercised the power vested in me with justice, and with moderation, will appear from the preceding relation, and the following parts of this narrative.

Before I quit this digression, I must further trespass on the patience of the Board, and of those for whose judgment it is ultimately written, by a more pointed application of the above to my own personal conduct and character.

I will suppose for a moment that I have erred, that I have acted with an unwarranted rigour towards Cheit Sing, and even with injustice. Let my motive be consulted: I left Calcutta impressed with the belief that extraordinary means were necessary, and those exerted with a strong hand, to preserve the Company's interests from sinking under the accumulated weight which oppressed them: I saw a political necessity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of their dominion, and for making it contribute to the relief of their pressing exigencies.

If I erred, my error was prompted by an excess of zeal for their interests operating with too strong a bias upon my judgment. But rare are the instances in which the judgment suffers the bias of such an operation; and much stronger is the presumption, that acts prompted by an unmixed attention to the public interests are founded on just principles, than that they are the result of a misguided judgment.

Possibly it may be suspected, and may God forgive those who know me, and countenance the suspicion, I have no title to an exemption from it with others, that I was influenced by a secret and mercenary interest. I have heard of the practice of holding out the terrors of authority, and the denunciations of disgrace, dismission, and war, as the instruments of private rapacity. Though the charge, if true, is capable of positive conviction, yet I know of no direct evidence which could refute it where it were false; for no man can be conscious of the recesses of another's mind. I can therefore only offer such presumptive proofs of my intention as the nature of it will admit, and accident has provided. These are my own early and confidential declarations, and the attestations of those to whom they were made. In a point of such public moment, independently of the near interest which I have in establishing the truth of it, Mr. Wheler will pardon my appeal to him, although in one light it may tend to involve him in a participation of the reproach of those who may regard every severity shewn to Cheit Sing as criminal, however founded. He will doubtless recollect the conversation which I had with him on the subject, on the eve of my departure from Calcutta; our

mutual opinion of Cheit Sing's past conduct; mine of the justice and policy of exacting an exemplary punishment for it by a large pecuniary mulct; the sum to which I then declared my resolution to extend it; my conviction of his ability to pay it; and the two alternatives on which I had resolved, if he refused to submit to it. He will also remember that I bespoke his confidence in the means which I should use for this end, and his support in the issue of them. I entreat him to give me his formal and circumstantial attestation of these facts, and that he will permit it to be inserted in this part of my narrative.

" I have the pleasure to comply with the Governor-
" General's request, and will cheerfully record in this
" place what I at present recollect to have passed
" between us at the time, and on the circumstances
" which he mentions. I will remember, that on the
" eve of the Governor-General's departure from
" Calcutta, the conduct of Cheit Sing, late Rajah
" of Benares, was a principal subject of a confidential
" discourse between us, and that he bespoke my
" support of the measures which he intended to pur-
" sue towards him.

" The Rajah's offences were declared to require
" early punishment, and as his wealth was great,
" and the Company's exigencies pressing, it was
" thought a measure of policy and justice, to exact
" from him a large pecuniary mulct for their relief.
" The sum to which the Governor declared his re-
" solution to extend this fine, was forty or fifty lacks.
" His ability to pay it was stated as a fact that could
" not admit of doubt, and the two alternatives on which

" the Governor declared himself to have resolved,
" if Cheit Sing refused to comply with the requisition,
" were, to the best of my remembrance, either a
" removal from his Zemidary entirely, or by taking
" possession of his forts, to obtain out of the treasure
" deposited in it the above sum for the Company.

EDWARD WHELER."

After such an appeal it would be as superfluous as indelicate to call on the aid of other testimonies, if all that were required were no more than to ascertain that I did hold such a conversation as that which I allude to with him. The conclusion will be much strengthened by its agreement with declarations made by me on the same subject, and nearly at the same point of time, to others. I shall therefore require similar attestations from Major Palmer, my military Secretary, and from Mr. Anderson, my appointed assistant on this deputation. With these references, and their result, I shall make my last and solemn appeal to the breast of every man who shall read this; whether it is likely, or morally possible, that I should have tied down my own future conduct to so decided a process and series of acts, if I had secretly intended to threaten, or to use a degree of violence, for no other purpose than to draw from the object of it a mercenary atonement for my own private emolument, and suffer all this tumult to terminate in an ostensible and unsubstantial submission to the authority which I represented. Whether it is likely, or morally possible, that I should have chosen to irritate the feelings of my colleague in office, and expose myself to all the effects of his

" sincerity, I required an immediate and unreserved " acquiescence in the demand, which at the same " time was made to you in the name of the " Governor-General and Council, of a subsidy of " five lacks of rupees for the expenses of the war. " With this demand you ostensibly complied, in your " answer to my letter; and the *Buxey* promised me " verbally in your name, and in terms so strong as " amounted to the fullest assurance, that there should " be no delay in the payment. Relying on this agree- " ment and promise, I gave orders to Mr. Fowke, who " was then Resident at this place, to receive the money, " and remit it to Colonel Camac, for the pay of the " army which had been ordered to march towards " the Province of Malva, and I made no other pro- " vision for it. Such was my confidence in your " faith, but you deceived me; and after having " made the first payment of a few rupees, either con- " sulting the temper of the times, or conforming " to a premeditated design, you by shifts and pretexts " with-held the remainder until the army, for whose " use it was intended, was reduced to the last state " of distress: many hundreds deserted, and had an " enemy at that time appeared against them, their " total destruction had been inevitable. In all this " time daily application was made to you by the " Resident, and I wrote repeated letters to you, but " you paid no regard to either. Besides this, I required " in the name of the Governor-General and Council " by letter, and ordered Mr. Fowke to repeat the " requisition in person, that you should furnish a body " of horse to assist and act with the armies of the

attended them to Mr. Wheler, then the only effective member of the Board.

TO EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

" SIR,

" I arrived at Benares on the 14th instant. My " transactions with the Rajah being of a most import- " ant nature to the present and future interest of the " Company, I have determined to inform you of them " without delay, in the order in which they have " occurred.

" The first step which I judged it necessary to take, " as the ground on which my future proceedings with " the Rajah were to be conducted, was to recapitulate " in writing the several instances of his conduct which " for some time past have repeatedly drawn upon " him the severe reprehensions of the Board, and " to demand a clear and satisfactory explanation.

" The paper I sent to the Rajah by the hands of " Mr. Markham, who was directed to require an im- " mediate answer. Late in the evening his answer " arrived. The following are copies of both :

" To Rajah CHEIT SING."

" It is about sixteen months since Lalla Sadda- " nund, your *Buxey* and confidential servant, came " to Calcutta, charged with an express commission " and authority to make excuses, for your past con- " duct, and to give me assurances, confirmed by oath, " of your future submission to my advice and the " orders of my Government. As a test of your

" sincerity, I required an immediate and unreserved " acquiescence in the demand, which at the same " time was made to you in the name of the " Governor-General and Council, of a subsidy of " five lacks of rupees for the expenses of the war. " With this demand you ostensibly complied, in your " answer to my letter; and the *Buxey* promised me " verbally in your name, and in terms so strong as " amounted to the fullest assurance, that there should " be no delay in the payment. Relying on this agree- " ment and promise, I gave orders to Mr. Fowke, who " was then Resident at this place, to receive the money, " and remit it to Colonel Camac, for the pay of the " army which had been ordered to march towards " the Province of Malva, and I made no other pro- " vision for it. Such was my confidence in your " faith, but you deceived me; and after having " made the first payment of a few rupees, either con- " sulting the temper of the times, or conforming " to a premeditated design, you by shifts and pretexts " with-held the remainder until the army, for whose " use it was intended, was reduced to the last state " of distress: many hundreds deserted, and had an " enemy at that time appeared against them, their " total destruction had been inevitable. In all this " time daily application was made to you by the " Resident, and I wrote repeated letters to you, but " you paid no regard to either. Besides this, I required " in the name of the Governor-General and Council " by letter, and ordered Mr. Fowke to repeat the " requisition in person, that you should furnish a body " of horse to assist and act with the armies of the

" Company; and when Mr. Markham succeeded Mr. " Fowke, I gave him an order to repeat the demand, " which he did accordingly with frequent and almost " daily importunity, limiting the number to 1,500 and " afterwards to 1,000. To this demand you returned " evasive answers, nor to this hour have you contri- " buted a single horseman.

" I pass over other instances of your conduct, in " which, through the means of your secret agents, you " have endeavoured to excite disorders in the Govern- " ment on which you depend; and your neglect of " the duty which you owe to it, and to the subjects " of this Zemidary, by suffering the daily perpetration " of robberies and murders, even in the streets of the " city of Benares itself, to the great and public scandal " of the English name, and in violation of one of the " conditions on which you received the confirmation " of this Zemidary. But as the two foregoing instan- " ces amount to a direct charge of disaffection and " infidelity to the Government on which you depend, " and happened at a time in which it was your duty " more especially to have exerted yourself in the sup- " port of its interests, I have therefore judged it proper " to state them to you thus fully in writing and to " require your answer to them; and this I expect " immediately."

From Rajah CHEIT SING to the Honourable the GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

" I received your letter delivered to me by Mr. " Markham, and I have understood every particular

" of its contents. Sir, after the arrival of Shaick Ally
" Nucky, I observed all the orders which you sent me,
" and I received the letter which the deceased Shaick
" brought me, informing me that every suspicion was
" now completely removed from your mind, and that
" I must consider you as formerly attentive to me: but
" I have not experienced from you the same generosi-
" ties as formerly. I sent you repeatedly letters repre-
" senting to your consideration my unhappy circums-
" tances, but you never honoured me with any reply.
" For this reason I sent my *Buxey* Saddanund to
" your presence, enjoining him to represent to you
" the firmness of my obedience and attachment,
" to lay before you the particulars of my situation, and
" to learn the disposition of your mind towards me.
" He arrived accordingly in your presence, and re-
" presented every thing in a proper manner. I have
" never deviated in the smallest degree from these
" professions; and the benefits and civilities with
" which you have honoured me have given me the
" greatest satisfaction, and I have considered you
" as the source from which I derived the fulfilment
" of all my wishes and desires. It is my firm hope
" that I may be always favoured with your directions.
" In this manner I complied with the utmost readiness
" with the order you sent me for the payment of
" five lacks of rupees on account of the expenses
" of the war. I sent first one lack of rupees, with
" an answer to your letter; afterwards having paid
" to Mr. Fowke the sum of one lack and 70,000 rupees,
" I sent a letter requesting a further allowance of
" time to enable me to make some preparations. To

" this I received no reply; it being no time for delay.
" Notwithstanding this, I was not a moment inatten-
" tive to this concern, and as soon as my *Buxey*
" arrived, I paid immediately the remaining part of
" the sum. The remitting of this to the army did
" not depend on me: if any delay happened on this
" head, I could not help it. If besides the payment
" of the money, the remittance of it also to the army
" had rested with me, a delay of this kind should not
" have happened. I have inclosed in this letter
" a paper specifying the particular sums which have
" been advanced, with their dates.

" With respect to the horse, you desired me in your
" letter to inform you what number I could afford
" to station with you, and I sent you a particular
" account of all that were in my service amounting
" to 1,200 horse, of which several were stationed at
" distant places; but I received no answer to this.
" Mr. Markham delivered me an order to prepare
" 1000 horse. In compliance with your wishes I
" collected 500 horse, and as a substitute fot the remain-
" der, 500 *Burkundosses* of which I sent you information,
" and I told Mr. Markham they were ready to go to
" whatever place they should be sent. No answer,
" however, came from you on this head, and I remained
" astonished at the cause of it. Repeatedly I asked
" Mr. Markham about an answer to my letter about
" the horse, but he told me he did not know the reasons
" of no answer having been sent. I remained aston-
" nished. With respect to the sepoys, I received first
" an order to station two of my companies, which I
" did; I was then desired to give a Tunkaw for the

" payment of the sepoys, and likewise to pay the Cap-
" tain, which has been done every month.

" Excepting Abdullah Beg and his attendants
" none of my people, either dependants or servants,
" or others in any shape connected with me, have
" ever gone to Calcutta: my enemies, with a view to
" my ruin, have made false representations to you.
" Now that happily for me you have yourself arrived
" at this place, you will be able to ascertain all the
" circumstances relative to the horse, to my people
" going to Calcutta, and the dates of the receipts of the
" particular sums above-mentioned. You will know
" whether I have amused you with a false representa-
" tion, or made a just report to you. I have given
" my Aumils most particular injunctions, and have
" taken a penalty bond from them, that they shall
" keep no thieves in their district. What power have
" they to act otherwise? But if ever a murder or
" robbery is committed in the country, I have been
" careful to impale or otherwise punish the culprits.
" If a person having committed a delinquency should
" escape to some other place, so as to elude all dis-
" covery, in that case I am helpless; but to the utmost
" of my power I endeavour to fulfil your orders. I
" have never swerved in the smallest degree from my
" duty to you. It remains with you to decide on all
" these matters. I am in every case your slave; what
" is just I have represented to you: may your pros-
" perity increase."

" Account of five lacks of rupees advanced for the
" expenses of the war.

1st	Shaabaun	100,000
29th	Ramzan	170,000
7th	Showull	130,000
18th	Showull	100,000
		500,000

" This answer you will perceive to be not only unsatisfactory in substance, but offensive in style, and less a vindication of himself than a recrimination on me. It expresses no concern for the causes of complaint contained in my letter, or desire to atone for them, nor the smallest intention to pursue a different line of conduct. An answer couched nearly in terms of defiance to requisitions of so serious a nature, I could not but consider as a strong indication of that spirit of independency which the Rajah has for some years past assumed, and of which indeed I had early observed other manifest symptoms, both before and from the instant of my arrival.

" Under these alarming appearances of the Rajah's ' conduct and disposition, I conceived myself indis- ' pensibly obliged to form some immediate and de- ' cisive plan for obviating their consequences, and ' for the preservation of the Company's rights and ' interests in this Zemidary. To have left him in " the full exercise of powers which he had notorious- " ly abused, and which it was to be apprehended he " would employ to the most dangerous purposes, was " totally inconsistent with the maxims of justice and " prudence. To divest him entirely of the Zemidary, ' though justifiable on the grounds stated above,

" would have been attended with an appearance of " severity, and might have furnished ground for " constructions unfavourable to the credit of our " Government, and to my own reputation, from the " natural influence which every act of rigour exer- " cised on the persons of men who stand in elevated " stations, is apt to impress on the minds of those " who are too remote from the scene of action to " judge, by any evidence but of the direct facts them- " selves, of their motives or propriety.

" Thus circumstanced, and attentive to these oppo- " site considerations, I laid down the following plan " for my future proceedings.

" I first directed the Resident to repair to the " Rajah, who resided at his house, situated on this " side of the river, at the distance of about two miles, " and gave him the following instructions :

" Mr. WILLIAM MARKHAM,

" Resident at *Benares.*

" Sir,

" It is my order that you proceed early to-morrow " morning to the house of Rajah Cheit Sing, with " your usual guard, and put him in arrest. You will " require his immediate submission, informing him " that you act under orders given you by me ; and in " case of his refusal, you will wait the arrival of two " companies of sepoys belonging to Major Popham's " detachment, who are directed to follow and assist " you in the execution of this service. Having secured

" the Rajah, you will keep him in your custody until
" further orders. I am, &c.

" *Benares, 15th of August*, 1781,
" *ten at night.*"

" On the next morning Mr. Markham went ac-
" cording to his foregoing instructions, and was
" followed by two companies of grenadier sepoys
" belonging to Major Popham's detachment. The
" Raja quietly submitted to the arrest, and Mr. Mark-
" ham returned to me with the following letter from
" the Rajah, leaving him under the charge of Lieu-
" tenants Stalker, Scott, and Simes. For the particulars
" which passed at this interview, I refer you to the
" following report, which Mr. Markham delivered to
" me on his return.

" No. IV. Letter from Rajah CHEIT SING.

" At this time Mr. William Markham being come
" to me, has informed me that your Highness's orders
" are that I should remain under a guard. My
" Protector, I before represented to you, on board
" your pinnace, that I was the servant of the Honour-
" able Company, and was ready from my heart and
" soul. Whatever may be your pleasure, do it with
" your own hands. I am your slave. What occasion
" can there be for a guard?

" No. V. Report of MR. MARKHAM.

" To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.
" Governor-General, &c. &c.

" Honourable Sir,

" I this morning, in obedience to your orders of " last night, proceeded with a few of my Orderlies, " accompanied by Lieutenant Stalker, to Shewallah " Gaut, the present residence of Rajah Cheit Sing, " and acquainted him it was your pleasure he should " consider himself in arrest, that he should order his " people to behave in a quiet, orderly manner, for " that any attempt to rescue him would be attended " with his own destruction. The Rajah submitted " quietly to the arrest, and assured me that whatever " were your orders, he was ready implicitly to obey. " He hoped that you would allow him a subsistence; " but as for his Zemidary, his forts, and his treasure, " he was ready to lay them at your feet, and his life, " if required. He expressed himself much hurt at the " ignominy which he affirmed must be the consequence " of his confinement, and entreated me to return to you " with the foregoing submission, hoping that you would " make allowances for his youth and inexperience, " and, in consideration of his father's name, release " him from his confinement as soon as he should prove the sincerity of his offers, and himself de- " serving of your compassion and forgiveness.

" Nearly a quarter of an hour after this conversation, " Lieut. Scott arrived with the two grenadier compa- " nies of Major Popham's detachment, to whose and

" Lieutenant Stalker's care I left the Rajah, having " given them the following instructions; that they " should disarm every servant of the Rajah's, that " they should allow him any such eight or ten " *Kitmutgars* for the attendance of his person as he " should approve of; that these men should be shewn " to the sepoys, lest any deceit should be practised; " but that they might indulge him in any request " consistent with the security of his person.

" I am now returned to acquaint you with my " proceedings, and to receive any further instructions " which you may think necessary.

" I have the honour to be,
" Honourable Sir,
" Your most obedient humble servant,
" (Signed) WILLIAM MARKHAM.

" *Benares*, 16*th of August*, 1781.

" As the Rajah, in the above letter, had desired " that Mr. Markham might be sent back to him, I " was preparing intsructions for that purpose, when " I recieved another letter from the Rajah, of which " the following is a translation :

"No. VI. Letter from the Rajah.

" I am the servant of the Sirkar, and am ready " from my heart and soul in the performance of your " orders. My honour was bestowed on me by your " Highness. It depends on you alone to take away

" or not to take away the country out of my hands.
" In case my honour is not left me, how shall I be
" equal to the business of the Sirkar? Whoever with
" his hands in a supplicating posture is ready with
" his life and property, what necessity can there be
" for him to be dealt with in this way?—

" From the apparent despondency in which these
" letters were written, I thought it necessary to give
" the Rajah some encouragement, and accordingly
" wrote him the following answer:

" No. VII. Letter from the Governor-General.

" I have received your two *Arzees* from the hands
" of Mr. Markham, and understand their contents.
" That gentleman will wait on you in the afternoon,
" and explain particulars. Let your mind be at rest,
" and do not conceive any terror or apprehension.

" To this I received the following reply:

" No. VIII. Letter from the Rajah.

" Your gracious letter has been received, and has made
" me acquainted with your commands. Your order
" that in the afternoon, Mr. William Markham will
" come to me, that I must not suffer any apprehension
" to disturb me, but remain at ease in my mind. My
" Protector, wherever you spread your shadow over
" my head, I am entirely free from concern and
" apprehension; and whatever you who are my master
" shall as such determine, will be right.

" At this time I had prepared Mr. Markham's " second instructions; but before he could set out " with them, intelligence came that large bodies of " armed men had crossed the river from Ramnagar " and had proceeded to the Rajah's house. What " follows is a scene of such horror, that it is with the " greatest reluctance I submit to the painful duty of " relating it. The guard placed over the Rajah con- " sisted of two companies of grenadier sepoys, as above " mentioned, from Major Popham's detachment, com- " manded by the officers already named, who were " stationed in an enclosed square, which surrounded " the apartment where the Rajah was. The Resident's " guard had returned with him. It now appeared " that these troops had taken no ammunition with " them. Major Popham sent another company of " sepoys under an officer, with ammunition to reinforce " and support the first party. When the latter arrived " at the Rajah's house, they found it surrounded, and " all the avenues blockaded, by a multitude of armed " men, who opposed their passage. The minds of " this tumultuous assembly becoming soon inflamed, " some of them began to fire upon the sepoys within " the square, and immediately, as if this had been the " concerted signal, made an instantaneous and fierce " attack on the sepoys, who wanting their accustomed " means of defence, were capable of making but a " feeble resistance, and fell an easy sacrifice to the " superior number of their assailants, who cut almost " every man of this unfortunate party to pieces. The " officers, it is supposed, were the first victims to their " fury, but not until they had, by astonishing efforts

" of bravery, and undismayed amidst the imminent " dangers which surrounded them, involved a much " superior number of their enemies in their fate. " In this general report of them all accounts concur, " though varying in circumstances. I yield to my " own feelings in bestowing this just but unavailing " tribute to these unhappy gentlemen.

" In the midst of this confusion the Rajah found " means to escape through a wicket which opened to " the river; and the banks being exceedingly steep " in that place, he let himself down by turbans tied " together, into a boat which was waiting for him, and " conveyed him to the opposite shore. Those who " had effected his escape, followed him across the river " in the same tumultuous manner in which they had " assembled, leaving the party of our sepoys which " had last arrived in possession of the house. On the " first intelligence of this commotion, I had directed " Major Popham to repair immediately to his camp, " which was about two miles from the Resident's, and " at the same distance from the Rajah's house, and " to march instantly with the remainder of his detach- " ment to the surpport of the party.

" This order was executed with all possible expedi- " tion; but Major Popham arrived too late, and had " the mortification to be a spectator of the effects of " a massacre which he could neither prevent nor " revenge. He returned to me immediately, and made " the following report:

" No. IX. Major POPHAM'S Report.

" Consequent to an order for the detachment under

" my command to proceed to the support of the " grenadier companies under the order of Lieut. Stalker, " I carried it with as much expedition as possible to " Cheit Sing's palace, which I found to be entirely " evacuated by the Rajah's people, who were already " landed on the opposite side of the river.

" Of the two companies commanded by Lieut. " Stalker, very few remained alive, and the majority " of those appeared to be severely wounded. The " bodies of Lieuts. Stalker, Scott, and Simes, were " lying within a small distance of each other shockingly " mangled, and without any signs of life.

" It may be necessary to observe, that Lieut. " Birrell was dispatched with one company of sepoys " upon the first rumor of the Rajah's coercive inten- " tions; but the fate of the companies which preceded " him was decided prior to his being able to enter the " palace. There were however some of the Rajah's " people, whom he effectually cleared it of. In this " attack he met with some loss. My utmost endea- " vours have hitherto proved insufficient to procure " an exact detail of the killed and wounded in " this unfortunate transaction. I thought it necessary " to leave a company with a subaltern in the " palace."

(Signed) WILLIAM POPHAM, Major."

" *Benares, 16th of August*, 1781."

" I cannot learn with certainty what is become of " the Rajah, but the prevailing report is that he fled

" from Ramnagur, his usual residence on the other " side of the river, in the middle of the night, and " proceeded with his Zenana and effects to Lutteefpur, " a strong fort of his, situate about 10 miles from Chunar. " He was accompanied by Sujan Sing, his brother, " and Mannyar Sing, a relation, and son by adoption " of Rajah Bulwant Sing. He has also had the " precaution to take with him Ranny Golabkoower, " the widow of Rajah Bulwant Sing, his father; her " son-in-law, Durgbijey Sing; and his two sons, her " grandsons. In them he possesses every member " of his family who can have any plea to dispute " with him the right of inheritance from his father " Rajah Bulwant Sing, if that were ever a question, " his right to the Zemidary being derived exclusively " from Sunnuds which his father never possessed, but " which were first granted to Cheit Sing by the late " Vizier Suja ul Dowla through the influence of our " Government in 1773, and since repeated by similar " grants from our Government, when the sovereignty " was ceded to the Company by the present Nabob " Assof ul Dowla.

" I have made choice of Rauboo Oossaun Sing, " who held the office of Dewan during several years " of the life of Rajah Bulwant Sing, and for a consider- " able period since the accession of the present Rajah " to administer the revenues and Government of this " country in the quality of Naib, until it can be deter- " mined to whom the Zemidary may legally belong, " and who may be in a capacity to receive.

" To this effect I have caused a proclamation to " be made through the city of Benares, and have

" notified it by circular *Perwannahs* to all the Zemi-
" dars and Aumils of Zemidary.

" To enforce the execution of these acts, to main-
" tain tranquillity and order in the country, and protect
" the inhabitants, I have ordered one battalion of
" Sepoys from Chunargur, the remainder of Major
" Popham's detachment from Mirzapore, and one regi-
" ment of Sepoys from Dinapore to march immediate-
" ly to Benares.

" The details of these proceedings shall be trans-
" mitted to you in a subsequent letter. I do not
" expect they will detain me here much beyond the
" time I had prescribed to myself, which was about
" 7 or 8 days.

" I have the honor to be, with the greatest
" esteem,

" SIR,
" Your most obedient
" Humble Servant,
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS."

" *P. S.* The delay occasioned in copying this
" letter from its great length has afforded me an
" opportunity of contradicting the latter part of it;
" and I have now the satisfaction to add, that Ranny
" Golabkoower, together with her son-in-law Durgbijey
" Sing, and his two sons, are safe at Benares. I
" have this morning received a visit from Durgbijey
" Sing, and his eldest son Mehipnarain."

I have read over the preceding letter with great attention, but can find nothing in it, with the advantage

of recent and better means of information, to correct; nor do I know that it requires a comment. That which I am now about to make may appear trivial; but I make it as it impels me by its present impression. The Rajah, in his reply to the charges which I had preferred against him, insists much on the many letters which he wrote to me, praying to be dispensed from his obedience to the orders of Government, and my neglect to answer them: and this charge against me he repeats in a manner not the most respectful. I do not know but it may be true. He had received positive orders, and those had been repeated. It was his duty to obey them, not to waste my time with letters of excuse, to cavil with my answers for evasions, or with my silence for delays. His Vackeel was in daily attendance on me, and knew my mind sufficiently upon these subjects; and what he knew I am sure he wrote to his master. As to his plea of inability to pay the residue of the subsidy "without preparation;" that is, without contriving the means to raise the money, after having sacredly promised the full and instant discharge of it, it was as insolent, as we now know too surely, that it was most egregiously false.

It was truly reported that Cheit Sing, after his escape from Shewallah Gaut, immediately fled to Lutteefpoor, taking his family, and his whole force with him, except the ordinary guard which had been early appropriated in the time of his father, Bulwant Sing, under the command of Gudgerauge Sing, who had the title of Kellidar, to the charge of Ramnagur. This was a vast pile of irregular but massy buildings constructed of stone, on the river side, and within the bed of the

river. To its original strength Cheit Sing had added some small bastions of stone and earth. A large town had grown round it, which rendered the approach to it suspicious: and the intricacy of the apartments and passages of the palace was such, that a cautious officer would hesitate under almost any encouragement to enter it. I had early information that it was in effect evacuated, and I believed it; but not being certain, I did not choose to hazard a repulse, nor had I force equal to any operation of doubtful success, much less of enterprize. My whole strength had consisted originally of six companies of Major Popham's regiment, about sixty sepoys which I had taken from the garrison of Buxar for the protection of my boats, and a few men who had been newly recruited for the resident's guard, who had yet neither arms nor discipline. Of Major Popham's regiment eighty-two men had fallen in the massacre of Shewallah Gaut, and ninety-two were wounded. The whole number of killed and wounded of every corps and denomination, was two hundred and five. Every circumstance of an event and time so critical to the present existence and permanency of the Brititsh interests in India will merit notice in a relation of this kind. If Cheit Sing's people, after they had effected his rescue, had proceeded to my quarters at Mahdoodass's garden, instead of crowding after him in a tumultuous manner, as they did, in his passage over the river, it is most probable that my blood, and that of about thirty English gentlemen of my party, would have been added to the recent carnage; for they were above two thousand in number, furious and daring from the easy success of

their last attempt: nor could I assemble more than fifty regular and armed sepoys for my whole defence. Let it not be thought that I attribute too much consequence to my own person when I suppose the fate of the British empire in India connected with it. Mean as its substance may be, its accidental properties were equivalent to those which, like the magical characters of a Talisman in the Arabian Mythology, formed the essence of the State itself; representation, title, and the estimate of public opinion. Such a stroke as that which I have supposed would have been universally considered as decisive of the national fate: every State around it would have started into arms against it; and every subject of its own dominion would, according to their several abilities, have become its enemy. What really passed approaching to such an effect, from the sole apprehension of such a cause, more than warrants the conclusion of what would have followed the cause itself, had it existed.

The effects of the first consternation having subsided, a number of men, reputed two thousand, returned to Ramnagur on the 18th, under the command of Ramjeewuan, a confidential and domestic Chief of the family.

The remainder of Major Popham's detachment, consisting of four companies of sepoys, one company of Artillery, and the company of French Rangers, lay at Mirzapore.

These were ordered to march immediately to Ramnagur, Lieutenant-Colonel Blair was ordered to detach a battalion of sepoys from the garrison of Chunar on the same destination. It was intended, that as soon

as these corps had joined, and were properly equipped for service, Major Popham should take the command, and proceed against the forces quartered in Ramnagur. I wrote an order express to Captain Blair, who commanded the battalion from Chunar, commanding him to halt at a secure distance from Ramnagur, and wait for further orders ; and Major Popham, whom I had afterwards vested with the command in form, wrote a similar order to Captain Mayaffre, the officer commanding the residue of his detachment, with an additional caution to avoid hostilities, and attend to the safety of the whole party, of which, being a senior officer, he would have the command till Major Popham assumed it. To ensure the success of his operations on that side, he had chosen a convenient and open plain on the shore opposite to Ramnagur for a battery of two mortars, which were expected from Chunar, nor can there be a doubt, that a place so peculiarly ill formed for such a mode of attack, and in no state of defence against a wary assailant, would have proved an easy conquest. Unhappily, the ill-timed ambition of a rash individual defeated this plan, and had nearly caused the destruction of the whole party. Captain Mayaffre unwilling, as it appears, for no other possible motive can be ascribed to so precipitate and irregular a conduct, to lose the opportunity which his present and casual command afforded him, of acquiring a military reputation, without plan, without enquiry, against the advice of his officers, and against order, ordered the detachment to march into the narrow lanes of the town, where they were opposed by the fire of an enemy surrounding them unseen ; and the party

which entered were in an instant annihilated rather than defeated. Twenty-three men of the corps of Rangers, with their commander, Captain Doxat, who led the attack, were killed, and ten wounded. The first battalion of the sixth regiment of sepoys, commanded by Captain Blair, which followed, lost fifty-seven killed, and forty-one wounded. The whole loss sustained in all the corps was, one hundred and seven killed, and seventy-two wounded. Captain Mayaffre was killed. The detachment instantly retreated. The retreat appears to have been conducted by Captain Blair, and in a manner that did him much credit. The enemy pursued with little effect, their numbers gradually lessening, till the detachment arrived within four miles of Chunar, which it regained the same evening.

This unfortunate affair happened on the morning of the 20th of August.

I considered myself now as plunged in a decided war, and made every provision both for its speedy termination, and its confinement to the scene in which it had opened.

Orders were written and dispatched in multiplied copies to the different military stations for assistance, to the Resident of the Vizier's Court for a supply of treasure, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Blair for an instant reinforcement. The very few reached their destination, the communication with every quarter being intercepted, and all the country in arms against us; and our emissaries, unused to this dangerous service either made prisoners, or not daring to execute it, and secreting their dispatches. Two of my letters reached

Colonel Blair, who ordered Captain M'Dougal, with the second battalion of the sixth regiment, to march on the next day, which was the 21st, to Benares. I now passed an interval, like that of a dead calm preceding a violent storm, and fraught with all the symptoms of its certain approach. Successive notices were brought to me by various channels of preparations making at Ramnagur for an assault on my quarters, which stood in the midst of the suburbs of Benares, and consisted of many detached buildings within one large enclosure, surrounded by houses and trees, which intercepted every other prospect. The whole force which I had left amounted to about four hundred and fifty men. The reports of an intended assault, which was fixed for that night, grew stronger as the day advanced. The boats on the other side of the river were seen to be in motion; and besides the moral certainty of the real existence of such a design, the obvious advantages which it presented to the enemy, who had nothing left to fear and nothing else to do, precluded all hesitation, but on the choice of expedients for defeating it. There were but two; which were, to wait the danger and try the chances of repelling it, or to retreat to a place of greater security, or of equal advantage for the encounter. The confined state of the place, of which any description will be insufficient to convey an adequate idea, rendered the first plan impracticable. We had not a force sufficient to guard all the defences of the place, nor a store for the provisions of a day, even for that small number. The only arguments for it were, the disgrace of a flight, and the consideration of our wounded sepoys, whom it might leave at

the discretion of a merciless enemy. The former consideration yielded to the superior weight of necessity; the latter to the impossibility of protecting the wounded men in either case, as they were quartered at the distance of near a mile from Mahoodass's Garden; nor would it have been possible in their condition, and in the multiplicity of pressing exigencies which the resolution to remain would have created, to remove them. Yet these considerations held me suspended during the whole course of the day. In the evening it became necessary to come to a final determination, as the delay of a few hours might now preclude every option. I consulted Major Popham. He declared the defence of the place impossible, and advised a retreat to Chunar. There were other field officers with me. I asked for their opinions separately. They clearly and unhesitatingly agreed in the same advice. My opinion had been determined from the instant I received the certain information of Captain Mayaffre's defeat. I had not yet received the news of Capt. M'Douga'ls march, nor any answer to the letters which I had written to Lieutenant-Colonel Blair for a reinforcement, nor could I know whether these had reached him. I yielded to the reluctance of a few minutes. My resolution was taken and declared, and orders given to form our little corps, that we might have time to gain the open country before the enemy, having notice of the design, could cross and attack us at the disadvantage of the street, lanes, and broken ground which we had to pass before we could reach it. These orders were issued between seven and eight o'clock; and by eight the line was in

motion, having been much retarded and impeded by an incredible tumult of servants, palankeens, and baggage of every denomination, which, for a time, threatened a total obstruction to our march. Fortunately this enormous mass took the wrong road, which left the right with a free and undisturbed passage for the sepoys. On the way we passed Captain McDougal's battalion about nine o'clock. We sent timely notice of our movement; he turned and joined us. Early the next morning we arrived at Chunar.

It is proper to mention, that as soon as I had formed my resolution to leave Benares, I sent my Moonshy to the Nabob Sadut Ally Cawn to recommend the wounded sepoys to his care, believing that the Rajah, from a consideration of policy, would not choose to molest them, especially as he could have no motive or object to it but revenge, if he would show a determined resolution to protect them. The same request I made to him in writing, after my arrival at Chunar. I owe him the justice to attest, that he faithfully and liberally complied with my request. He visited them himself, and furnished them with provisions and with money, and appointed native surgeons to attend them; and, as they were able to bear it, he caused them all to be removed to his own quarters.

Many reports and suspicions have prevailed of his being concerned in some of the designs which were formed against us. I can neither credit nor refute them. The evil imputed to him is at best doubtful. The good which he did is certain; and he is entitled to the entire merit of it.

I avail myself of this repose in my narrative to relate another instance of private merit in Beneram Pundit, the Vackeel or Minister of the Rajah of Berar, and his brother Bissumber Pundit. These persons had come to pay their customary attendance at my quarters about the time that the line was already on the march. They immediately joined it. Some time after I saw and spoke to them, expressing some concern to find them in that situation. They were on foot without a single servant or attendant. I suffered them to accompany me till we came to the plain and halted. I then thanked them for the proof which they had shewn of their attachment, with which I was satisfied and desired them to return, as they had a large family in Benares, which would be exposed by their continuance with me to the resentment of Cheit Sing, and perhaps to the worst effect of it; nor could they by their presence afford me any service which could repay what I myself should feel of compunction for suffering them to be exposed to such hazards. They refused me in a peremptory manner, without compliment, or the ostentation of performing meritorious service, and persisted, although I as peremptorily insisted on their return. I then desired that the elder brother, who was corpulent and of a constitution less equal to fatigue, would return, and the youngest only remain; but could not prevail. A few days after my arrival at Chunar, I casually mentioned to them my distress for provisions, which was occasioned principally by the want of money; for such was our total loss of credit, that we could not raise a sufficiency even for the ordinary wants of our small detachment;

and it was with great difficulty, and a degree of violence, that Lieutenant-Colonel Blair extorted from the Shroffs of Chunar, who had lived and grown opulent under the protection of the garrison, the small sum of two thousand five hundred rupees, which was distributed among all the sepoys, and afforded a satisfactory relief. Beneram Pundit immediately, and with an eagerness which belonged to his character, told me, that he had a lack of rupees, in ready money, lying in his house at Benares, which I might take, if I could find any means to receive and convey it to Chunar; and the youngest brother advised, as the simplest expedient, to send a battalion of sepoys for that purpose, which could easily go and return without interruption, as there were no troops stationed near the town on that side of the river, offering to accompany it himself, and to bring away the money. I rejected this proposal for an obvious reason, and preferred the trial of the means which the Shroffs are supposed to practise for the conveyance of money on such occasions. I accepted a draught on their family for the sum, payable to Contoo Bauboo, my Dewan, who had been left in Benares, and sent it enclosed in a letter to him, with directions to concert with Gopaul Doss the means of conveying it to Chunar. This proved ineffectual; Contoo Bauboo could not be found, Gopaul Doss was seized (I forget at what exact period of time) and sent a prisoner to Lutteefpoor, and in a short time after Contoo Bauboo was also secured and conveyed to the same place of confinement. I was obliged therefore to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which never happened while

I remained at Chunar. After my return to Benares, Beneram again repeated the offer, I accepted it, and received the whole amount on the instant, giving him a note in the Company's name, and in the usual form for the same.

Examples of fidelity and national attachment merit the first reward of being recorded. In me, it is a duty, both of public and private obligation, to relate what I have related. Their merit is national, for under whatever impressions their assistance was offered, its object was the national service; nor can my person, in such an instance, be separated from my public character.

On the 20th or 21st, I forget which, I received a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, filled with expressions of slight concern for what had passed, and professions, but indefinite and unapplied, of fidelity. I did not think it becoming to make any reply to it, and I think I ordered the bearer of the letter to be told that it required none.

On the morning of the 21st, a person came to Mr. Richard Johnson, who was one of my party, and desired his interposition with me to receive a letter and messenger from the Rajah in the evening, with proposals for an accommodation. The like application was made by Mirza Abdoola Beg, the Rajah's Vakeel, to my Dewan Contoo Bauboo, and with my permission Contoo Bauboo returned to his own house in the evening to meet the Vakeel by appointment for that purpose, by which means he missed the opportunity of going off with me, the intelligence of my intention reaching him too late for him to join me, or his infirm

state of body not admitting of his taking so hasty a resolution. The substance of the message, as it has been since delivered to me by Abdoola Beg in writing, was to exculpate himself from any concern in what had passed, which he charged to the insolent behaviour of a servant of the Resident, who was present, and the resentment of his own people, and to profess his obedience and submission to my will in whatever way I should dictate.

I regarded this as an artifice to gain time, since the message, whatever were the substance of it, might as easily have been delivered in the morning as in the evening, and the messenger might have obtained an easy access to me without the intrigue and mystery of secret and indirect applications.

I have been since confirmed in this opinion by the two following anecdotes, and their exact coincidence with the design to which I attribute that just recited.

On the morning of the 21st, while preparations were making to cross Capt. M'Dougal's battalion, three men, two strangers, and all volunteers, went successively to Col. Blair with intelligence that a design was formed to escalade the fort of Chunar with a numerous force on that night, and an earnest caution that he should not diminish the strength of his garrison.

The intelligence and advice delivered by each were expressed nearly in the same words. When Captain M'Dougal's battalion was on the road, three men, strangers and volunteers like the former, came to him successively with intelligence that a large body of

armed men lay in wait to intercept him at a village called Beetaburr, and warned him not to proceed. He proceeded, but did not meet a man. Lieut.-Col. Blair caused a more than ordinary watch to be kept on that night in the fort, but not a man appeared to attack it. Not one of these emissaries has ever been seen since.

As it had been my original intention to make but a short stay at Benares, the Nabob Vizier, in the expectation of my visit, had already left his capital, and advanced to a short distance to meet me. I considered that his presence would prove of much service by its influence on our credit, and his troops, rabble as they were, might serve to keep the country in awe, and to divide the attention of the enemy. But these advantages would invert the relation of our alliance, and give him a superiority in our meeting, which would defeat the purposes of it; besides that, I did not think it consistent with the dignity of our Government to employ a foreign aid for the suppression of a rebellion of its own subjects. I therefore wrote a letter to the Nabob, requesting him to return to Lucknow, and remain there until I should have leisure from the actual disturbances to prosecute my original journey. The Nabob refused to comply with this injunction, and on the first intimation of my difficulties resolved to join me; and he executed this purpose with such apparent earnestness, that he made his first stages with no other attendance than about 100 horse, and about four companies of his bodyguard, with his usual domestic attendants. As soon as I was informed of this, to remove any unfavourable impression of my

former letter under the construction of distrust, I wrote another to the Nabob, expressing the warmest sense of such a testimony of his attention, apologizing for what I had before written from an unwillingness to involve him in a scene of trouble, and expressing my desire to see him at Chunar, according to his own wishes.

In the meantime I had received several intimations imputing evil designs to the Nabob, and warning me to guard myself against them, and especially to be careful that I did not expose myself to the effects of concealed treachery, by visiting him without a strong guard. Many circumstances favoured this suspicion. No sooner had the rebellion of this Zemidary manifested itself, than its contagion instantly flew to Fyzabad, and the extensive territory lying on the North of the River Dewa, and known by the names of Gooruckpoor, and Bareech. In the city of Fyzabad, Nawaub Allea and Junaaby Allea, the mother and grandmother of the Nabob, openly espoused the party of Cheit Sing, encouraging and inviting people to list for his service, and their servants took up arms against the English. Two battalions of regular sepoys in the Vizier's service, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Hannay, who had been entrusted with the charge of that district, were attacked and surrounded in various places, many of them cut to pieces, and Col. Hannay himself, encompassed by multitudes, narrowly escaped the same fate. The Nabob Vizier was charged with being privy to the intrigues which had produced and fomented these disturbances; and the little account that he seemed to make of them served

to countenance the suspicion. I can truly say for myself, that I never afforded it the slightest degree of credit: neither his character, the tenor of his past conduct, the expectations which I knew he entertained of assistance and relief from myself, nor his inability to support himself without the protection of our Government, allowing me for a moment to entertain a thought so injurious to his fidelity, and so contrary to probability; yet I was not perfectly free from apprehensions similar to such a suggestion. The Nabob was surrounded by men base in their characters, and improvident in their understandings, his favourites and the companions of his looser hours. These had every cause to dread the effect of my influence on theirs; and both these, and the relations of the family, whose views of consequence and power were intercepted by our participation in the administration of his affairs, entertained a mortal hatred to our nation, and openly avowed it. These all joined in prescribing the most pernicious and fatal counsels to the Nabob, representing this as the time to deliver himself from what they described as the yoke of servitude. Although he firmly rejected all their persuasions, and I was assured of it, yet he himself was at their mercy, and it was in their power to use both his authority and his person for the perpetration of their own designs; nor could I use any precaution to avoid them, which would not appear to proceed from a distrust of the Nabob himself. I never communicated my apprehensions, nor acted from them, and had the satisfaction of receiving the Nabob, of maintaining an intercourse with him, with every

mark of the most secure and mutual confidence; and of parting with him with every demonstration of mutual satisfaction.

I had before written to Col. Morgan for assistance. I now repeated the order; and as the issue of a war, begun with such disadvantages on our side, and with the total loss of the country, was doubtful, I added an order to follow with his whole force, with another to Col. Sir John Cumming who commanded at Futtehgur, to supply his place at Cawnpoor. I considered that if we were successful with a less exertion, it would be easy to countermand these orders before the troops could have advanced far in the execution of them; but if we failed of success, and such orders were not sent, it might be too late to issue them with any hope of effect from them, or even of their being received; since the communication, which was now very difficult and uncertain, might then be absolutely precluded. None of my letters reached Col. Morgan till he had taken his resolution. Reports were conveyed to him of my situation and past misadventures The sudden failure of intelligence convinced him of the truth of what he heard; and justly concluding that orders had been sent which had been stopped in their way to him, he at once resolved to execute their supposed and obvious purport, and detached a force superior to that which I had required to my assistance. It consisted of two regiments of sepoys, thirty European artillery men, and two companies of the European regiments, with four six pounders, one howitz, tumbrils, ammunition, draft and carriage cattle. For the greater expedition, he ordered this detachment

to proceed by water. The zeal of the officers, so well seconded that of their commander, that although it appears that the resolution was taken on the 29th, the whole were embarked, and in *movement*, on the 31st of the month. Major Crabb commanded the detachment.

A long interval of time, which acquired its full measure, from the magnitude of the events which were expected to grow out of it, and their uncertain production, passed in total ignorance of the success of the various orders which had been dispatched, and of the succours which might be preparing for us. One-half of the province of Owd, was in a state of as complete rebellion as that of Benares. Hutteh Shaw had invaded Sircar Sarun, in our own province, of Bahar, supported by supplies of money, and encouraged with promises of more from Cheit Sing: Many of the Zemindars of Bahar, had discovered symptoms of disaffection; and reports were made to me of levies of men openly entertained for the enemy, from our subjects in that province. Even the wretched subjects of Napal, dared to seize, by force, some villages, to which they had a claim, and had sometime before supplicated the attention of our Government towards it. In my impatience for advices, I dreaded that every packet would bring a fresh accumulation to our distresses, and the news of commotion in every quarter. At this period, a letter found its way to me from Colonel Muir, who commanded the army employed against Madajee Sindia, informing me of overtures made by that chief for a separate peace. This had been one of the objects of

my journey to this quarter; but eagerly as I had sought such an event, I was proportionably mortified to learn with what facility it might have been accomplished, and how unseasonably our domestic misfortunes had happened to defeat so fair a prospect of it. I had no money or credit, equal to the supply of 3,000 rupees; and by an unfortunate train of official perplexities, which had happened some time preceding this, both Major Popham's regiment, the Rangers, and all the corps of the garrison of Chunar, were four months in *arrears*. This was our situation.

What force could be spared from the garrison of Chunar, added to Major Popham's regiment, was formed into a detachment under his command, and encamped on a plain about a mile to the eastward of Chunar. The greatest strength of the enemy was collected at Pateeta, about seven miles from Chunar, in the same direction.

On the 27th of August, Lieutenant Polhill arrived with six companies of sepoys belonging to the Nabob Vizer's body-guard, stationed at Allahabad. He was ordered to encamp on the opposite bank of the river, for the purpose of keeping our communication open with the shore. On the 29th, he attacked and defeated a considerable body of troops, under the command of a principal chief, named Shaub Cawn, who was stationed at a small fort and town, called Seeker, within sight of Chunar. The advantages gained by this success were the removal of that part of the enemy, and the acquisition of a considerable booty in grain, which had been the object of the enterprize.

On the 3rd of September, Major Popham detached Captain Blair, with his battalion, and two companies of his own grenadiers, to surprise the camp at Pateeta. They marched at three in the morning, and arrived at the ground by daylight, but found it abandoned, and the enemy waiting for them in complete order, at about a mile beyond it. A bloody action ensued, in which the enemy, as might be expected from men flushed with recent successes, fought with a desperate intrepidity. Our sepoys began to break into disorder, when by a well-timed and successful attack of the enemy's guns by the two companies of grenadiers, headed by Lieutenants Fallon and Birrell, the fortune of the day turned in our favour, and the field was left in our possession, with four guns and four tumbrils. One of the guns, its carriage being broken, was spiked and left. The other three, with one of the tumbrils, loaded with as much ammunition as it could carry, were brought away. The other three tumbrils, with two hundred maunds of loose powder, were blown up. About 1,500 round shot of different weight, and mostly hammered, were found, and left in a village adjacent.

Our loss in the action, was very great: we had 48 men killed, and 85 wounded. That of the enemy was unknown, but must have been considerable. Their guns were well served, and it was from their execution that we principally suffered. It was remarkable that they had all the apparatus of our artillery, such as port fires, tubes, chain and quilted grape shot, &c., equal, or nearly equal, to the production of an European laboratory. Samples of each kind will be sent to the Board.

Their artillery did not answer to the quality of the stores. One gun was of modern cast and with its carriage, which was not bad, said to have been made at Ramnagur. The others were of a very old cast and construction, and their carriages bad and much worn. This was the general character of all the ordnance taken in the course of the war.

Dearly as this victory was purchased, with the expenditure of one-fourth of the party, it was yet a victory, ascertained and acknowledged, and had its due effect of impressing the enemy with discouragement, and our own men with confidence; and it was an earnest of our future success in the public opinion, which is, at all times, of high importance to our political influence, and was especially so at this, in which the minds of all men were suspended, for the decision of the part which they were to take, either in the immediate contest, or in their own conduct as dependent on it.

I must not omit in this place, an instance of vengeance which marks the sanguinary character of Cheit Sing, and too strongly proves, that if the other excesses committed by his people, were not authorized by his express order, they were perpetrated under the influence of his example, and the knowledge of his inclination.

Fourteen men of the corps of Rangers, had been left sick at Mirzapoor, when the remainder of Major Popham's detachment marched under the command of Captain Mayaffre to Ramnagur. They were made prisoners and sent to Lutteefpoor. They arrived there on the 3d of September, about the same time that

news was received of Captain Blair's action at Pateeta, which happened on that morning. What provocation they gave, or whether any, is not known. It is surmised, but I know not the authority, that one of these unhappy men expressed a joy on hearing that our arms had been successfull. They were all butchered on the spot, and almost in the immediate presence of the Rajah, except one man, who made a shift to crawl with a mangled body to the neighbouring woods, where he subsisted for a few days; returned to the fort, received mercy, and is still living and in our camp. The particulars of this massacre have been since verified with some unessential variations from my relation of it, in an affidavit of the survivor, which will be annexed.

On the 10th of September, at about seven in the morning, Major Crabb's detachment appeared on the opposite shore. It consisted of the corps already related. It had proceeded as far as Illahabad by water, but been much retarded in its course by strong and adverse winds; on which account, the course of the river also winding very much between Illahabad and Chunar, Major Crabb had prudently disembarked the men and stores, and marched them by the high road, remanding the boats to Cawnpoor, whither, indeed, their return would have been impracticable, had they passed the boundary of this Zemidary.

Major Roberts, with his regiment, and a lack of rupees in silver, arrived on the 13th of September from Lucknow, to which place, as I have before related, he had been ordered to repair for the guard of my person, in my intended visit to that capital.

A further supply of fifty thousand rupees was a few days after received from the Nabob's Aumil of Allahabad.

The money was immediately distributed among all the troops in equal proportions; and by satisfying their wants, facilitated Major Popham's preparatives for the commencement of active operations.

I have a pleasure in testifying that, distressed as the sepoys had been for the want of money, they had never manifested the least symptom of discontent. I had frequently visited the camp, and passed the lines each time in review. Once, and only once, I heard one or two voices of complaint, but neither clamorous nor disrespectful.

On the 11th, the Nabob Vizier arrived at his encampment, which had been formed on the opposite shore. I chose to make him the first visit, which was performed on the same morning, and was returned by him on the next.

Hyder beg, the Nabob's second Minister, arrived at the same time. He had been deputed early to meet me at Benares, and had arrived there about two days after my departure from it. Instead of following me to Chunar, he had suffered himself to be detained by Lalla Bucherauge, the Shroff, who had promised to accompany him with a supply of money. In the mean time, a sudden and great swell of the river rendered the Burna Nulla, behind which he was encamped, impassable. The Rajah's people, at the same time, carried away all the boats; and after a long and fruitless negotiation with them for an unmolested passage, which he did not think it prudent to

attempt at the hazard of an opposition, he at length did attempt it, and met none. His indecition on this occasion, furnished ground for various suppositions; but I knew, and had assurances from a person in my suite, who had taken refuge with him and acquired his confidence, and on whose authority I could implicitly rely, that they were wholly devoid of foundation. I had a pleasing and incontrovertible evidence of his fidelity, soon after the conclusion of our troubles, in a letter which Captain Blair picked up at Lutteefpoor, and which I shall add to the Appendix; not merely as a justification of that Minister, but as a relief to the dry and unentertaining materials with which it is associated, if it shall convey the same opinion of the good sense of the writer to other minds, as it has done to mine.

On the 15th, Lieutenant Polhill crossed and joined Major Popham's camp. The whole detachment now consisted of the following strength, *viz.*

1	company of European grenadiers,	commanded by Captain Grant.
1	ditto ditto light infantry	ditto Capt. Harrison.
1	ditto French Rangers	ditto Lieut. Wade.
30	European artillery men	ditto Capt. Hill.
1	regiment of sepoys the 7th	ditto Major Crabb.
1	ditto - - - - 15th	ditto Major Balfour.
1	ditto - - - - 30th	ditto Major Roberts.
1	ditto - - - - 35th	ditto Major Popham.
1	battalion, the 1st of the 6th regiment - - -	ditto Captain Blair.
6	companies of the Nabob's body guards - -	ditto Lieut. Polhill.

The following is a catalogue of Cheit Sing's whole force, which has been since delivered to me by one of his principal officers; and as it made a part of the affidavit, I admit it and credit it as genuine. It is certainly not exaggerated.

LIST of the established forces in the service of Cheit Sing, Cavalry, Sepoys, Matchlockmen, &c., &c.

Cavalry		1700
Select troops or bodyguards, horse and foot ...		700
Sepoys		1150
Matchlock men		1800
Attached to Bullum Dass, horse 300, foot 500 ...		800
With Sujan Sing, cavalry and infantry,	500	
with two guns, Sepoys and artillery men,	340	840
With Munnear Sing, cavalry and infantry ...		700
Total established troops—		7690

Troops entertained after the arrival of Cheit Sing, at Luteefpore

First, entertained at Luteefpore, Matchlock and Sword men	2000
Second, Nujjeeb Sword men, from Lucknow ...	1000
Total——	3000

Troops assembled from different places, horse and foot, the Jugger Deave Sing	500
Matchlock men arrived with Bukht Sing, by order, from the Rajah	1200
With Gomaun Sing, sent for by the Rajah, Matchlock men	500

From the Fowjdar of Biddevi arrived, Matchlock men 1000
Rajepoots, of the tribe of Rugbunse, from Kurraukut 3000
Arrived with Dullun Sing, Foujdar of Mukurun, Badshahpoor Matchlocks 1500
Cavalry and infantry, arrived with Ruzza Cooli Khan from Mirzapoor 300
Rajepoots collected from Agoree and Purwah, by Dia Lutchoo 500
Of the tribe or cast of Kammaur, collected by Shujan Sing 1000
Swŏrd and Matchlock men with Ramjeewawm 2000

Total troops in the service of Cheit Sing—22,190

To which are to be added husbandmen and adventurers, who took up arms voluntarily, making the foregoing number amount to near forty thousand.

These forces were divided between Lutteefpoor, Pateetah, and Ramnagur. The best reputed of them were at Pateetah, and the great mass composing the last corps, with a part of the others, at Lutteefpoor with the Rajah, who had fixed his residence at that place since his flight from Shewallah Gaut.

Before I proceed, it may not be improper to state the resource on which he, not very unreasonably, depended for lengthening the war, if not for success in the course of it.

First, his fortresses; of which there are many, and some of considerable extent and strength, erected in various parts of the Zemidary. Of these the two principals are Bidjeygur and Luteefpoor. Ramnagur

scarcely deserves to be named with them, and Pateetah has been rendered considerable, only by its having been a capital scene of opposition and of our victories.

Bidjeygur is a fort erected on the solid rock, of a hill rising to the height of 745 perpendicular feet from the level ground. It lies about fifty miles in a south-east direction from Chunar. It was the depository of all his and his father's treasures.

Luteefpoor is a large fort built with stone, and surrounded by hills, and either from neglect or design, obstructed from distant view by trees and thick shrubs surrounding it. It lies about 14 miles eastward from Chunar.

Pateetah is a very large town, surrounded by a rampart of earth, extending to a great distance beyond it to the hills adjoining. The fort itself is a small square house of stone, itself fortified with four round towers, and enclosed with a high rampart, and a ditch, wich is in most parts broad and deep. Its greatest advantage against an enemy, to whom delay was defeat, was, that it was invisible to its assailants.

Ramnagur has been described already. The other forts, whatever their consequence under a different train of successes might have been, are of none to the events of this narrative.

His next great resource was his wealth, on which he looked, and thought himself invincible, an expression which I borrow from one of the meanest of his dependants. It is credibly affirmed that he inherited from his father, Bulwant Sing, a complete crore of rupees, to which it is believed that he made considerable additions.

The distresses of our Government, and the power and number of its enemies, may also be reckoned, though negative, yet amongst his resources. The rest were delusory, which the false and violent counsels of his brother, Shujan Sing, and his Buxey Saddanund, imposed on his inexperience, and the pliancy and aptitude of his disposition.

It would break the attention, and perplex the thread of the narrative, to relate every distinct event in its exact order of time. I have therefore in the minuter points, endeavoured rather to arrange them according to their relation to the greater, or to find a place for them in the vacant intervals and pauses of it. It may be proper in this place to mention, that during the time of inaction, which succeded to my arrival at Chunar, I received several letters from Cheit Sing, besides letters from Mr. Barnet, and one from Contoo Baboo, who were both his prisoners at Luteefpoor, which were written by his order. These were all alike in substance, containing acknowledgments and professions of his submission to my authority, assertions of his own innocence, charging the massacre of Shewallah to the Chobdar, whose insults provoked the resentment of his servants, whom he could not restrain; and claim a merit from his having in the three past actions been the suffering part, though successful, and in none the aggressor; adding general offers of accommodation, and in the letters written by his order, a pompous display of his inexhaustible wealth, the multitude and bravery of his forces, and the devoted affection and fidelity of all his subjects. I refused to answer them, letting him know that they were written with too

much presumption, in the style of equality, and with inapplicable professions, which were no better than none. Some of these letters will appear in the Appendix. The rest were lost.

It had been intended to begin our operations with the attack of Ramnagur; partly because it had been the scene of our first disgrace, and principally because the repossession of the capital, which would follow the capture of Ramnagur, would, it was thought, redeem our credit with the public, and be deemed equivalent in the distant reports of it, to the complete recovery of our authority over the country; as the existence of a fugitive chief in the wilds and mountains would be little regarded, when he was expelled from the capital of his Government, and the seat of his collections. For this purpose, battering cannon and mortars were ordered to Major Popham's camp, and every other preparative made for a siege. This caused the delay of some days. In the meantime, a man named Bundoo Cawn, a native and inhabitant of the town of Chunar, gave information that, as the Rajah's force was principally collected at Lutteefpoor and Pateetah, and was daily accumulating, it would become exceedingly difficult to dislodge him, if he was allowed to gain too great strength there, by a process of detailed and consecutive operations; that the approaches both to Pateetah and Luteefpoor were strongly guarded, and especially those of Luteefpoor, which he described as unassailable, but with a great and certain loss, on this side, the only road to it lying through Pateetah; and even if carried, untenable from the strength of the pass behind it, of which the enemy

would keep possession in defiance of all our efforts, and against any superiority of numbers. This pass takes its name from the adjacent village of Suckroot. He advised a divided plan of attack to be executed at the same point of time; one on the fort of Pateetah, the other on the pass of Suckroot; of which our forces coming on it by surprise, it being unguarded and easier of access from above, might easily obtain possession, and by that means gain the same advantage over the garrison of Luteefpoor, as that would have over us, if we first took possession of the fort; with the command of every road of communication, if, which he did not doubt, we succeeded against Pateetah. He offered to conduct the party which should be destined on the service against the pass of Sutkroot, by a road unfrequented and unknown, which he described correct with a minute, and, as it has since appeared, detail. The confidence with which he spoke, and correct the consistency of his assertion and reasonings upon them, acquired a great additional strength from his former recent conduct. He had accompanied Captain Blair in both actions of Ramnagur and Pateeta, and had been very serviceable to that officer by his knowledge of the ground, and by his advice in the application of it. His service on both occasions had been gratuitous, nor did he profess any motive for that which he now offered, but the interest and safety of a large family which depended on our success.

Major Popham at once saw the propriety of his advice, and adopted it. The evening of the 15th, was appointed for the first execution of the plan. In the mean time, it was concealed with the most profound

secrecy. As a security for the fidelity and steadiness of Bundoo Cawn, he had a promise of a jagheer in perpetuity for himself and family, if the enterprize succeeded. This engagement has been since amply performed. Major Popham formed his army into two divisions, one destined for the more distant enterprize, and commanded by Major Crabb. It consisted of the 7th regiment, Major Crabb's; the 1st battalion of the 6th regiment; Lieutenant Polhill's six companies of the Nabob's body-guard; four six-pounders, and a five and half-inch howitz. These corps were told off, and began their march about eleven that night. Major Popham began his march with the other division at about three o'clock in the morning to Pateetah.

On his arrival there he found the works much stronger, and the approach more hazardous, than he had expected from the description which had been given of the place. He applied for the two battering cannon and the mortars which had been originally intended for the attack of Ramnagur, and remanded on the change of the plan. They were sent, but made no impression; and he resolved, on the encouragement of a five day's experience, and from the fear of a delay operating against the other part of his plan, to attempt a storm. This was ordered and executed on the morning of the 20th, with an instant and complete success. Major Roberts commanded the storming party. The enemy made a slight stand at the outer entrenchment, and fled through the fort, our men following without opposition. A slight attack was made at this time on our camp, but repelled with some loss on the part of the enemy;

and none on ours. We lost during the siege eleven men killed, besides ten wounded.

On the same morning, Major Crabb having conducted his division through almost impracticable ways, arrived at a village called Lora, which lies about two miles from the pass. Here he found a body of men with three guns posted to oppose him. They made a firm stand, but were defeated with a considerable loss. Ours was twelve men of every denomination killed, and twenty-two wounded. The enemy fled through the pass to Luteefpoor. Our detachment followed to the head of the pass, and there encamped for the remainder of the day.

The news of these concurrent successes being conveyed to the Rajah, at the same insant of time, alarmed him exceedingly for his own personal safety. His fears were excited with a more forcible impression by the surprise of the advance of so great a force from a quarter where he had not expected any. With his face turned towards Chunar, and his whole attention and that of his people directed to the movements which were made on that side, they had no suspicion of any design being formed behind them. The first intelligence which was received of Major Crabb's party, described it as consisting of the followers of Oossaun Sing, and only three companies of our Sepoys; the Hircarrahs who conveyed the news, possibly mistaking the advanced guard for the whole force, and reporting it accordingly; nor was the real strength of the party known, even by that which was detached to oppose it, until the instant of the action. This circumstance was related at the time, and has been since confirmed

to me by an officer, named Myher, who commanded a small body of the Rajah's Sepoys, and the guns in the action. No design could be more judiciously planned, or more happily executed. Even the impediments and disappointments which attended it, served but to promote the coincidence of the final movements of its operation, with so well-timed an effect, that the difference of time which passed between the engagement at Lora and the conquest of Pateetah, was little more than that which would be required by the difference of the distances of each from Luteefpoor, for the news of each success to reach Luteefpoor at the same instant.

Cheit Sing instantly prepared for flight. His road to Bidjeygur, which was his last refuge, lay through the pass, which he durst not attempt. He left Luteefpoor about three or four in the afternoon; and making a circuit over the hills, gained the high road at the distance of some miles beyond the pass, and proceeded with a few followers to the neighbourhood of Bidjeygur. Some others followed and rejoined him. The rest left without orders, stayed but to plunder the place, and evacuated it. The Gawng Wallahs, or militia, composed of the husbandmen, who had been summoned to attend him, all fled to their own homes. So rapid was the report of this event in its communication, and so decisive in its effects, that the fort of Sutteessgur, which lies about seven or eight miles to the northward of Luteefpoor, and the palace of Ramnagur, were evacuated on the same evening; and the allegiance of the whole country restored as completely in the course of a few

hours, from a state of universal revolt, to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it.

On the next morning, the 21st, Major Crabb marched through the pass to Luteefpoor, and found it abandoned.

On the same day, Major Moses Crawford, with the 28th regiment of Sepoys, arrived from Dinapoor, and joined the detachment.

Major Balfour was detached on the morning of the 22d to Ramnagur, of which he took quiet possession. No one remained to oppose him.

Being desirous of returning without loss of time to Benares, and the presence of the Nabob Vizier being more urgently required for the quiet of his country, we parted on the 25th, with every expression of mutual and real satisfaction.

On the next morning I arrived at Ramnagur, and on the 28th returned to my old quarters at Mahdoodass's Garden at Benares.

To quiet the minds of the people, proclamations were issued, offering pardon to all who should peaceably return to their obedience, excepting the persons of Cheit Sing, and his brother Shujan Sing, whom their late rebellious conduct, and their rancour manifested to our nation in the deliberate murder of our soldiers, and even defenceless passengers, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, had precluded from every title to lenity. Among the unhappy sufferers to whom the above exception alluded, was a person of the name of Hooker, who had followed the occupation of a dealer in European wares to our camps, and had ventured to pass in his budgerow, a little after the

unhappy affair of Shewallah, near Ramnagur, where he was seized, and unarmed as he was, and pleading the innocence of his profession, murdered in cold blood. Shujan Sing had the command at that time in Ramnagur. Two soldiers also, of Major Crabb's detachment, having wandered from the line, were taken and murdered at Gopee Gunge. For this reason that town was excepted in the proclamation, and has since been destroyed.

My first care, after my return to Benares, was to determine the succession to the Zemidary and Rauje, vacated by the forfeiture of Cheit Sing. The right of the Company to the disposal of it certainly had not suffered by the past events. The territory had been wholly lost to their dominion, and wholly conquered by their arms: yet the rest of the family, who formerly possessed it, had not merited by any act of theirs, to be involved in the punishment of a man who had been equally their enemy, and whom they had regarded as the usurper of their more legal rights; nor perhaps, would it have been prudent to have put the submission of the people to the test of a new species of dominion. I therefore resolved, in virtue of the full powers which I possessed from the Board for that purpose, to bestow it on the next lineal heir. This was Bauboo Mehipnarain. He was the grandson of Rajah Bulwunt Sing, by a daughter married to Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing. The widow of Bulwunt Sing, named Ranny Goolaub Koower, was still living and in an extreme old age. By the Hindoo law she might claim the inheritance. Her daughter also, the wife of Doorgbijey Sing, might assert the like pretension. Had it become a matter

of contest, I had resolved to leave it into the decision of the whole body of the Pundits of Benares; but this reference was unnecessary. Doorgbijey Sing yielded up the pretension of his wife, and the old Ranny her own, by a writing sealed with her name, and acknowledged in the presence of a confidential person whom I deputed to her for that purpose, declaring it to be her wish and request, that the Rauje might be conferred on her grandson, Mehipnarain. He was accordingly invested and proclaimed on the 30th of September. His father, Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing, was at the same time invested with the office of Naib, and is in effect the sole acting manager. He is about thirty-five years of age, his son nineteen.

I have thought it proper to establish a distinct and independent magistracy for the town of Benares. Allee Ibrahim Cawn, the person chosen for this charge, was duly invested with it on the 20th of October.

On the 5th of November I concluded the settlement of the revenue which was to be paid by Rajah Mehipnarain, being 33,33,33,358 for the current year, and a perpetual rent of 40,00,000 rupees for the future.

It has been already mentioned, that soon after my flight to Chunar, Colonel Muir advised me of overtures made by Mahdajee Sindia for a separate peace. I sent to Colonel Muir credentials and instructions; and on the 13th of October a treaty was concluded with Mahdajee Sindia. To confirm and improve the advantages obtained by it, I deputed Mr. Anderson to Mahdajee Sindia, and at the same time sent Mr. Chapman, with Bissumber Pundit on a similar com-

On the 8th of October, Major Naylor, with the 23d regiment, having been detached to the relief of Lieutenant-Colonel Hannay, arrived on the northern banks of the Dewar, defeated a large force which had assembled round Colonel Hannay, and entirely dispersed them. The return of the Nabob soon after effectually restored the quiet of the country.

About the same time a regiment of sepoys, under the command of Major Lucas, defeated and drove Futty Shaw from the district of Sircar Saurun.

After having gained possession of Luteefpoor, Major Popham lost no time in prosecuting his march to Bridjeygur. Cheit Sing did not wait his approach, but fled, taking with him as much treasure as his elephants and camels could carry, which has been reported to me to have consisted of one lack of mohrs and fifteen or sixteen of silver, besides jewels to an unknown amount. His wife, a woman of an amiable character, his mother Pauna, and all the other women of his family, and the survivors of the family of his father Bulwunt Sing, who were connected with his, were left in the fort of Bidjeygur. He took the route of Rewa, and from thence proceeded to Panna, the capital of Boondelcund, paying and plundered as he passed. He was by the last advices in that country, the Rajah professing in his letters to me a resolution to withdraw his protection from him, and secretly favouring him.

The fortress of Bidjeygur surrendered by capitulation on the 10th of November, yielding to Major Popham the peculiar credit of having surmounted all the obstacles which nature and art has opposed

to the conquest of two of the fortresses of Hindostan, which had been before universally deemed impregnable.

I have now brought my narrative to its proper conclusion, at that point in which all the movements which form the subject of it, and all their objects appear to have attained their full and complete termination. I regret the length to which it has been drawn, and fear that it will appear unreasonable to those who may consider it a point of duty to give it a thorough perusal and who will scarce fail to reflect, that it contains in effect the history of but one month. To myself the reflection affords a different sensation when applied to the multitude of events, and their magnitude comprised within so short an interval of my public life. I have aimed at brevity, both in the selection of facts and in the narration of them; having omitted every circumstance which, though engaging a portion of my attention at the time, had no connection with the general train of events, or influence on the character by which they are discriminated from the ordinary course of affairs. For the satisfaction of such as shall have more patience or leisure to look into them, I have added as an Appendix, copies of all the material papers which have a relation to the narrative, but which would have increased the bulk of it, and disturbed the attention, if inserted in the body of it.

I have also added attestations of all the principal facts and events, sworn before the Chief Justice, to whose advice I am obliged for having suggested it. It did not strike my mind that matters of such notoriety here would require some more authentic

verification of them at home than the recital of the man, whose reputation is so immediately concerned as mine is, in the judgment which my superiors, and which the public at large will have a right to form upon it. I am sensible of the wisdom of the precaution, and sorry that it was not earlier intimated, that I might have had time to have collected a larger fund of evidence, although I have reason to be satisfied with the weight of that which I have obtained. Let it be also remembered, that this relation itself has been written under the force of an obligation, as binding as that of an oath administered and taken in all its legal forms.

Whatever judgment may be passed on my particular conduct, I am yet happy that it has proved the means of calling forth the inherent virtue of my countrymen, and displaying to all the powers and people of India both the national character and the national constitution by such effects as have been unrecorded in their histories, and are scarce conceivable by their habit of thinking.

The suddenness of our calamities, the distance of assistance, the privation of every present resource; the manifest interest which animated and impelled every corps and every individual to the support of the common cause; and the rapidity with which they rushed to repel the common danger, are facts of universal observation; and will contribute more effectually to the permanency of the British influence and dominion, than the most splendid victories obtained over adversaries of the highest reputation, because it shows the harmony which unites all the parts of our

Government, and their augmented strength under the compression of external violence; and will be remembered as a most striking example, which every man concerned in its operations will apply to his own interests and feelings; that its greatest and most successful exertions have arisen out of the most desperate emergencies, and have fallen in every such instance with the most dreadful vengeance on the heads of its aggressors.

For the sense which I have entertained of the particular conduct of the officers who have distinguished themselves in the late service, I cannot express myself in stronger terms than those of the following extract of my letter to the Board, dated the 29th of September, and copy of one dated the 7th of October.

Extract of a letter from the Governor-General to the Board, dated 29th September, 1781.

" I have forborne any particular comments in " this place, reserving them, where they will be more " properly introduced, for my detailed narrative. Yet " I cannot suppress without a violence to my own " feelings the testimony which is due, especially from " me, to the unexampled zeal and public spirit of all " our officers, and the wonderful activity with which " these qualities were displayed on the late occasion. " I have already acknowledged the early exertions " which were made by Colonel Blair, during my for- " mer short and calamitous residence at Benares. " Of Major Popham I cannot say sufficient, to express " my sense of his services. Though my letters were

" every where intercepted, Colonel Morgan, with a " decision and solicitude that reflect equal credit " upon his character, detached Major Crabb, with his " party, to my assistance on the first and instant " rumour of my situation. Colonel Sir John Cumming, " with the like alacrity, obeyed the orders for his " march to Cawnpoor; as did Lieutenant-Colonel " Ahmuty, in the immediate dispatch of Major Craw- " ford, and the troops of cavalry. The same spirit " animated every officer of every corps, and infused " itself into the men under their command with an " effect so far exceeding the common occurrences of " human affairs, that in the complete space of one " month, this great and valuable Province, which had " been suddenly and wholly lost, was in substance " wholly recovered to the British Empire.

" I am, &c."

Copy of a letter from the Governor General to the Board, dated the 7th of October.

" I have had frequent occasion to express, in public " orders, the highest approbation of the zeal, spirit, " and good conduct exerted by all the officers and " troops in all the late operations for reducing the " rebellious Zemidary to obedience. Several of the " officers have merited and received particular thanks " by name, and it would give me the greatest satisfac- " tion to distinguish and reward each individual in " proportion to his station and services. But as no " Government is possessed of the means of such diffu- " sive recompence, it must be unavoidably confined

" to those whose elevated rank, or peculiar situation,
" affords them opportunities of laying immediate
" claim to the more honorary or beneficial testimonies
" of public gratitude. But such testimonies, whilst
" they are in possession of persons of superior rank,
" give hopes to, and excite the emulation of those
" also who are in the inferior; and thus, by well-timed
" and judicious rewards, the prosperity of the state
" and the interests of its servants are united.

" It is on this principle that I request permission
" to solicit the consideration of the Board, for an honour-
" able recompence to the two officers who have been
" first in rank, and most conspicuous in services,
" during the commotions in this district.

" Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, who commanded at
" Chunargur, from the day of the fatal catastrophe
" in this town, manifested a generous zeal for the
" public interests, and for my safety, above all con-
" siderations for his own. Every requisition which
" I made to him was instantly complied with, and
" he sent me a reinforcement of a battalion of Sepoys,
" at a time when he had the strongest grounds to
" believe, that an attack would be made on his own
" garrison, which it was incapable of sustaining.

" It is perhaps scarce less meritorious in Colonel
" Blair to have not only submitted without repining
" to the preference of any inferior officer to a command
" of such importance within the limits of his own, but
" to have assisted and co-operated with that officer
" with as much alacrity, as if the success was to have
" redounded to his own honour.

" This is not the first occasion on which the

" attention of the Board has been called to the distin-
" guished merit and services of Major Popham. They
" have been again most happily exerted in his present
" command for the safety and interests of the com-
" pany in a very perilous situation. I have been in
" a manner eye witness of them. I wish to express
" and to shew my sense of them, but I want language
" for the first, and means for the latter.

" As from the knowledge which I have of the
" characters of Lieutenant-Colonel Blair and Major
" Popham, I am certain that the most honourable
" reward will be to them the most acceptable one.
" I beg leave to propose, that they be promoted by
" Brevet to the rank immediately above that which
" they at present respectively hold ; that is Lieutenant-
" Colonel Blair to the rank of Colonel, and Major
" Popham to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.—This
" preferment, whilst it is an honourable distinction
" to these officers, cannot be deemed an injury to their
" seniors ; as their promotion will not be thereby
" retarded : they may be always employed on separate
" services, and their rank will not be affected when they
" rise in the regular course of succession.

" The Company owe so much to the eminent
" services of Major Popham, that I may think it
" incumbent upon me at a future period, to recommend
" him to their further consideration. Whilst I bestow
" the just tribute of praise due to those officers who
" acted upon the spot, I should be guilty of an un-
" pardonable neglect and even injustice, if I omitted
" to express my sense of equal approbation of the
" conduct of others more remote.

" Colonel Morgan on the first intelligence which " reached him of my situation, and without waiting " for official information or authority, in the true spirit " of an able and zealous officer, detached a very con- " siderable portion of his brigade, and all the supplies " of provisions which he could procure.

" Sir John Cumming likewise moved with the " utmost diligence and alacrity on receiving an order " to occupy the station of Cawnpoor, in the room of " the second brigade. He marched with his whole " force in fifteen hours after receiving the orders, " and reached Cawnpoor in four days, himself, officers, " and troops, cheerfully making their utmost efforts " in the common cause.

" Such have been the spirited and judicious exer- " tions of our officers and troops in support of the " Company's most valuable rights and possessions, of " the dignity of their Government, and of the honour " and safety of their chief Magistrate; a conduct " which manifests the strongest attachment and affec- " tion on their parts, and implies an observance of " justice and regard to the prosperity and happiness " of those who are placed under our authority, on " ours. These are circumstances which will always " afford me the most pleasing reflections, notwith- " standing the calamities which have produced them.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) " WARREN HASTINGS."

Chunar, 1st December, 1781.

TRANSLATION of the *Sunnud* granted to Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Zemidary of Gauzipoor, Benares, &c.

Be it known to the Mutsedies in office, present and to come, Cannoongoes, Muchudums, Ryatts, cultivators, to all the inhabitants and people resident and belonging to Sircar Benares, Gazypore, and Chundara, in the soubah of Illahabad, That whereas by virtue of a treaty with the Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah, concluded on the 20th Rubby ul Owal, 1189, Hegeree, or 21st May 1775, the Government and Sovereignty of the Sircars above-mentioned, has been ceded to the Honourable East-India Company, from the 4th of Jummaddy ul Owal 1189 Hejeree, or 4th July, 1775, the said East-India Company therefore, in virtue of the rights thereby obtained, do confirm unto Rajah Cheit Sing the Zemidary, Aumeeny, and Poujedary of the said Sircars agreeably to the Zemmell, together with the Cutwallus of Juanpore and Benares, and the Mint of Benares, from the said date. Whatever gold and silver shall be coined in the Mint, the said Rajah shall coin conformably to his Mutchulka. He is not to be, in the smallest particular, remiss in the observation and execution of the several duties incumbent on him, he is to behave with moderation and kindness to the Ryatts and people, to promote the cultivation and increase of inhabitants and produce of the lands; expelling thieves, nightly assaulters and robbers, and so effectually punishing the disturbers of the peace, that no trace of them may be seen; and he is to pay a tribute of 23,40,249 Benares mutchuldar rupees, or

22,66,180 Calcutta siccas, annually to the Company's Treasury; should he receive orders to pay the above revenue at Benares, he shall, in that case, pay the sum of 23,40,249 Benares mutchuldar rupees, each rupee to weigh ten masha, and to contain two ruttee and two chowls of alloy, and no more; should the weight be less, or the alloy be more, he shall make up the deficiency; whenever the money shall not be wanted at Benares, he is to remit the annual amount of 23,66,180 of sicca rupees punctually agreeable to his Kists, and by monthly payments at Calcutta. In consideration of which, he shall be allowed a deduction of two per cent amounting in all to sicca rupees 44,4.34 14 5 account of Hindownny or Exchange, which being deducted, the net amount is 22,21,745 17 sic rupees of Calcutta, which he is to pay at that plac After the settlement of accounts, at the end of the year he shall, in the customary manner, receive credit for his payments, and he is by no means to collect the prohibited abwab of the durgah of his Majesty. This Sunnud being granted, is to remain in force, and all former Sunnuds to become null and void; you the Mutseddies and persons above-mentioned, are to regard the said Rajah, as truly and lawfully possessed of the Zemidary, Aumuny, and Poujedary, of the above Sircars, and to acknowledge his authority in the several acts appertaining thereunto. Know that we have issued the most strict and positive commands, and obey them accordingly.

Written on the 25th of Suffer, 17th Sun, or 15th of April, 1776.

(Signed) By the Governor-General and Council,

The Zimmeen.

The office of the Zemidary of Sircar Benares, Gazypore, Chundra, the Cuttwally, the duties and the Mint in the Sobah of Illahabad, have been conferred upon the great Chief Rajah Cheit Sing Behadre, also the Aumuny and Poujedarry.

Copy of a *Pottah* granted to Cheit Sing

The *Pottah* containing the underwritten stipulations is granted unto Rajah Cheit Sing Bahadre.

Sircar Benares, Gazypore, Chunar, and the mahals of Sircar of Juanpore, comprehending the mahal and duties, Havily, Mahomed, Abaub, Benares, the Khaus Daums in Purgunna Bhadurry, Talook of Sunkeramow in Purgunna Chunar, Suklesgurra, Bijcepore, Sircar Gauzypore Purgunnah Sekunderpore Khered Shady Abaud Patna Serreinga, including the Cutwally duties of Juanpore and Benares, the Mint of Benares, the mokumy, yatisaub and stores, weighing both maul and duties, and the Duanny, Dustore, excepting the narcar of half the Jagheer of Bhadurry, the exempted Jagheers of Ayma which have been inserted for a length of time in the accounts as deductions, all the articles of the Taheed are settled upon you from the 4th of Jumaudy ul Awaul 1189, Hijeree, or the 4th of July, 1775, English, at a stipulation per annum of 23 40,249 Mahidar Benares rupees, not short of the weight of 10 mosha each, and not containing a greater portion of alloy than two rattees, and two beringe, agreeably to your Mutchulka and Cabuleat. This sum you will

therefore pay, but should it not suit the convenience of the Company to receive it at Benares, you are to pay it in Calcutta in sicca rupees of Calcutta, amounting in which specie to 22,66,180 sicca rupees, the amount of the Hindooawn or exchange, allowed you at the rate of 2 per cent is rupees 44434 14,5, which being deducted, the net sum will be 22,21,745,1.15 sicca rupees of Calcutta. This you are to pay without the least deduction or depreciation whatever, in the course of each year by monthly payments, agreeably to your separate Kistbundy. This you are to pay without any allowance for subundy, you will remit the money to Calcutta without fail conformably to the said Kistbundy.

Kuboolyat, or Agreement executed by Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Zemidary of Benares, &c.

Whereas a treaty has been concluded between the English East-India Company, and the Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah Chea Cawn Behadur, Huzzubber Jung Nazim of the Soubah of Allahabad, under date the 20th of Rubbee ul Awal 1189, Hijeree, or the 21st of May, 1775, Christian, whereby the sovereignty of the Sircars, Benares, Gauzeypore, Chunar, &c. hath been ceded to the English East-India Company from the 4th of Jamady ul Awal 1189, Hijeree, or the 4th of July 1775, Christian, and the Company having granted the Zemidary, the Aumuny and Poujedarry of the aforesaid Sircars, together with the Cutwallies of Benares and Juanpore, &c. and the Mint of Benares unto me from the above date, I do hereby voluntarily consent and agree under my hand, that whatever

coins shall be struck in the said Mint, shall be conformably to a separate obligation, which I have executed under date the 25th of Zihiza, in the 17th year of the reign, and delivered to the Government for the Company. It shall be my duty to do every thing that may be needful and usual for the interest and security of the country, to provide for the welfare of the inhabitants—to be attentive to the increase of cultivation and improvement of the revenue, to use my endeavours in such manner to expel robbers and assassins, and to punish offenders of every kind, that not a trace of them may be left, and will pay the annual revenue of Government, being at Benares, mutchuldar rupees of Benares 23,40,249, each rupee to weigh no less than ten massa, and to contain no more alloy than two ruttas and two chowl, any deficiency of the standard to be made good. If the Government shall not have occasion to receive the same at Benares, I will, in such case, pay it at Calcutta annually, by monthly payments, according to Kistbundy, and conformably to the Tuzul Zill, or particulars in the margin, the sum being Calcutta sicca rupees 22,66,180, including Nuzzeranna, &c. but deducting on account of Hoondyan, or exchange, a premium of two per cent. which premium of two per cent. upon the whole sum, being sicca rupees 44,434,145, I will accordingly deduct from remitting the remainder to the Company's Treasury at Calcutta, so that, after the deduction of exchange, I shall pay net, and without further deduction into the Treasury of Calcutta, the sum of Calcutta sicca rupees 22,21,745,11,5 at the end of each year. After payment of the same, and observing the conditions

agreed upon, I shall receive a release or discharge in full, wherefore I have written the agreement to be adhered to accordingly.

In the margin follows a list, dated 25th Suffer, 17th of the monthly instalments Sun, corresponding with the 15th April, 1776, Christian.

Signed by the Rajah. Seal of the Rajah.

A true copy, (Signed) E. HAY,

Sub-Secretary to the Hon. the Governor and Council.

Extract from the Secret Proceedings of the Hon. the Governor-General and Council, on the 9th July, 1778.

Resolved—That Rajah Cheit Sing be required in form, to contribute his share of the burthen of the present war, by the establishment of three regular battalions of sepoys, to be raised and maintained at his expense, and the Governor-General is requested to write to him to that effect.

Copy of a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, received the 30th July, 1778.

I have been honoured by the receipt of your gracious letter, communicating the intelligence of a war

being broke out between the Courts of Great Britain and France, and desiring me to take on myself a share of the burden of expense—my patron I am the servant of the Sircar—I will write you more fully hereafter—on all occasions I am hopeful of your Highness's favour and support.

Extract from the secret proceedings of the Honourable Governor-General and Council, on the 26th August, 1779.

Resolved,—That the Commander-in-Chief be requested to give orders to Major Camac, or the officer in command of his detachment for the march of two battalions of Sepoys to Benares, at the requisition of Mr. Thomas Graham, the Resident there, and to remain at that place for further orders.

Resolved, that the following letter be written to Mr. Graham:

To Mr. THOMAS GRAHAM, President at Benares.

SIR,

We have received your letters of the 16th instant, acquainting us that Rajah Cheit Sing had declined to pay the five lacks of rupees which we required of him, as his proportion of the expenses of the war for the present year

Having judged it necessary to make this claim, which was suggested to us by the urgency of the case, we cannot admit of any plea which the Rajah may urge to exempt him from it; orders have therefore been

sent to Major Camac, or the officer in command of his detachment, to march to Benares, immediately on your requisition, with two battalions of Sepoys, and to wait our further orders at the place. We have thought this step necessary, for the purpose of compelling the Rajah to pay the quota required of him in case of necessity; and we desire that you repeat your demand, and insist on his compliance. If the Rajah still continue to object to your claim and refuse payment, you are to require the officer in command of the detachment, to march immediately in conformity to your orders, and advise us of your proceedings. We hope, however, that you will not be reduced to proceed to this extremity, as it would oblige us to increase our demands on the Rajah, by exacting from him the whole expense of the detachment, from the day of its march, in addition to our original claim.

We are, &c.

Copy of a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, received the 27th August, 1779.

I have been honoured with your letter, calling on me for the payment of five lacks of rupees, on account of the expense of the war for the present year, and understand its contents.

My situation is well known to you, and I assure you, without reserve, that I have no ability left, nor is there any mode of relief for me but in your favour.—I am fully confident that it is your desire, who are my master, to support me your servant;

and last year you directed Shick Ally Nucky, that I should by any means, by disposing of my effects, or by borrowing, make this one payment, and I should not be called on in future, and that you would take every means for my advantage and support.

I accordingly put in practice every method in my power, and by loans made good the requisition. It is now absolutely out of my power to raise the sum required, and I am therefore hopeful that you will be kindly pleased to excuse me the five lacks now demanded, and that nothing may be demanded of me beyond the amount expressed in the *Pottah*, which through your favour I obtained from the honourable English Company.

This Raja and Zemidary, and my dignity, are the gifts of your Highness. I have judged it necessary to represent to you my inability and helpless state.

Copy of a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, received 21st August, 1780

I have been honoured by your orders, directing me to pay five lacks of Sicca Machuldar rupees to Mr. Fowke, of the war which still continues ; and although my distressed situation must be known to you from other quarters, notwithstanding I have been afraid to represent it to you myself, that I have sold my house and borrowed sums of money, from which I am not yet released ; yet, in obedience to your orders, I have paid one lack of rupees out of the five lacks, to Mr Fowke, and should pay the other four in three months. I request you will send directions to that gentleman

to allow me that time, and it shall be punctually paid at the end of that term; you yourself must be convinced, that I have no abilities or resources left.

Extract from the public proceedings from the 26th of October, 1780.

Copy of a letter to General Giles Stibbert, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

Having had late occasion to be much dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rajah of Benares towards this Government, in withholding the payment of the amount due from him, as his subsidy: we think it necessary to direct and do direct you to issue orders to the commanding officers of the battalions at the stations nearest to Benares, to ma ch immediately to that place and wait such further orders as may hereafter be transmitted to them.

We are, &c.

Extract from the secret proceedings of the Honourable Governor-General and Council, on the the 2d of November, 1780.

Agreed, that the Governor-General be requested to write to the Nabob Vizier, recommending to him to require from Fyzoola Cawn, the quota of troops stipulated by treaty, to be furnished by the latter for his service, being 5,000 horse, to be put under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel Muir commanding at Futtighur.

Agreed also that the Governor-General be requested to write to the Rajah of Benares, requiring him to furnish such part of the cavalry entertained in his service, as he can spare for the service of this Government, and to inform him what number he can supply: that a letter be written to Mr. Francis Fowke, directing him to make the same requisition of the Rajah, and at the same time to obviate any jealousy which the Rajah may conceive; that this may be converted to a permanent imposition upon him, by assuring him that the Board will require the services of these forces no longer than while the present war lasts, after which they will be returned.

N. B. The Appendix to the Narrative contains, amongst other papers of great importance, the depositions of several gentlemen in the Company's service, and of many very respectable natives of Indostan, which will be printed entire in the Appendix hereafter. For the present, however, I have abbreviated many of them, as they will tend to prove to every impartial reader, that the rebellion of Cheit Sing was premeditated—Mr. Hastings's journey to Benares accelerated the revolt of the Rajah.

Affidavit of Major Eaton, commanding at Buxar.

Letter from Major Eaton to Thomas Graham, Esq., Resident at Benares, dated the 23d of May, 1779, complaining of the disaffected conduct of Rajah Cheit Sing and his officers, and of enormities committed by the latter.

Letter from Major Eaton to Francis Fowke, Esq., Resident at Benares, upon the same subject, dated 3d of November, 1780.

Mr. Fowke's answer to Major Eaton, expressing that he had no hope of obtaining redress, dated 8th November, 1780.

Letter from Major Eaton to Francis Fowke, Esq. dated 17th of November, 1780, representing the assault made by the Zemidar of Beerpoor on Ensign Basset, and the general enormities of the Zemidars of the jurisdiction of Rajah Cheit Sing.

Letters from Major Eaton to the Supreme Council, on the same subject.

Major Palmer's affidavit of the declared intentions of the Governor-General towards Cheit Sing.

Attestation of David Anderson, Esq., to the same effect.

Affidavit of Moonshy Gore Persaud—His imprisonment and sufferings—Ladders made for the attack of the Governor-General's quarters.

Affidavit of Hurryram Pundit—Forces which attended Cheit Sing to Buxar.

Affidavit of Moonshy Patnimul—Proclamation at Benares against protection of English gentlemen, on pain of death, and forfeiture of property.

Affidavit of Moonshy Gore Persaud, the same in substance as the foregoing.

Affidavit of Doond Sing, commandant—Attempts of the Rajah's brother to seduce him from the Company's service in February, 1781.

Various affidavits of the insurrections in Gorookpoor.

Solemn declaration of Ranny Golaub Koower, widow of Bulwant Sing—Preparations made at Ramnagur for attacking the Governor-General in his quarters—Disaffection of Cheit Sing.

Affidavit of Gudrauge Sing, Killidar of Ramnagur—Murder of Mr. Hooker—Design to attack the Governor-General's quarters.

Affidavit of Hunder Sing, Adjutant at Buxar—Attempts of the Rajah's brother to seduce the Sepoys of the garrison—Insolence of the Zemidar Force attendant on the Rajah at Buxar—Orders to reduce the fort of Buxar—Assault made on Ensign Basset, and other gentlemen, at Beerpoor.

Affidavit of Sheck Mahmud, Commandant in Cheit Sing's service—List of forces which attended the Rajah to Buxar—Massacre at Shewalla—Designs to attack the Governor-General's quarters at Benares—List of forces in the service of Rajah Cheit Sing.

Various affidavits of the massacre at Shewalla.

Perwannah from Rajah Cheit Sing to Dadjoo Sing, to join him and cut off the English.

To ditto to join Futteh Shaw.

Affidavits of Nathaniel Middleton, Esq.—Reports of Perwannahs issued by Cheit Sing, commanding the destruction of the English, and letters to the Nabob's Zemidars inciting them to rebel—Fidelity and attachment of the Nabob Vizier—Murders at Gossel Gunge—The Ministers of the Vizier's mother encourage the disaffection, and assist the levying of troops at Fyzabad for Cheit Sing.

Affidavit of Lieutenant-Colonel Hannay, commanding a corps of Sepoys in the Nabob Vizier's service—Hostile practices of the Begums at Fyzabad—Troops levied there publicly for Cheit Sing, with the encouragement of the eunuchs of both the Begums—Actual departure of 1000 levies—Remonstrance made to the Bow Begum by the deponent without effect—Attack of Captain Gordon by Shumshur Cawn, the Begum's Aumil—General disaffection of Gorookpoor and all the country lying south of Fyzabad, fomented by the Agents of Cheit Sing, and by the money furnished by him.

Affidavit of Major John Macdonald, commanding a battalion of Sepoys in the Vizier's service—Insurrections of Gorookpoor excited by Cheit Sing, and encouraged by the Begums at Fyzabad—The rebellion of Cheit Sing preconcerted.

Affidavit of Captain David Williams, commanding a battalion of Sepoys in the Vizier's service—Insurrections of Gorookpoor, and mutiny of his own Sepoys.

Affidavit of Captain John Gordon, commanding a corps of Sepoys in the Nabob Vizier's service—Hostile acts of Shumshur Cawn, Aumil of the Vizier's mother, attributed to the Begum.

Second affidavit of Lieut.-Colonel Hannay—Plan concerted by the Begums to detain him at Fyzabad, and to seduce from him his followers.

Affidavit of Juan Henere Moordelai, Private of the company of Chasseurs, relating the circumstances of the massacre of his comrades at Lutteefpoor.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS,
Governor-General, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

When I had last the honour of seeing you, I more than once urged my reasons for thinking, that the rebellion of Rajah Cheit Sing was but a part of a larger and more extensive plan, which was by good fortune of your arrival prematurely brought forward before all the parties to it were united and properly prepared for action. In support of this belief, and to prove that I am far from being single in the espousal of it, I beg leave to trouble you with some extracts from the letters I received from Colonel Hannay, written from the time of the first breaking out of the rebellion to my return to Lucknow. His situation for obtaining the knowledge he imparts, his experience, and his judgment to guide what he advances, must make his sentiments of weight and authority.

In his letter of the 8th of September, from Fyzabad, scarcely ten days after he had set about obeying the Nabob Vizier's orders to march with his force to your assistance, he writes " that the whole country on the " East side of the Gogra was in arms and rebellion. " His own troops deserting, and the single companies " scarce able to join other detachments: the forts of " Guruckpore, Bilma, and Dumreagunge taken from " the Aumils by the Zemidars; and that even Hir- " currackes cannot pass; so that all communication of " intelligence from his other detachments, under Major

" M'Donald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon,
" was cut off and at an end." He adds, " This town
" (Fyzabad) has more the appearance of belonging
" to Cheit Sing than the Vizier. The Begums have
" placed guards to prevent any of my people going to
" the Buzar in it.—Within these four days Shaak
" Chaan, with near one thousand horse and foot, has
" marched from hence to Benares (they were raised
" here) and I must confess, that for my own part, I
" have no doubt but Juwar Ally Cawn, and Behar
" Ally Khan, through their agents, have stirred up all
" the disturbances which extend from hence to Powey
" and Azimgur.—I have sent Hoolass Roy to the
" Begum to enquire into the reason of my people
" being prevented from going into the town, Cheit
" Sing's being suffered to raise troops here, and why
" her servants attempted to prevent my getting boats to
" transport the Company's guns and horse from
" Amora; I have also desired she will give orders for
" seizing the family of Shaak Chaan (above mention-
" ed) and when Hoolass Roy returns, I will write you
" her answer. In Khyrabad Sylack, and all the
" country on the West of the Gogra, between Fyzabad
" and Khyrabad, the Aumils are flying before the
" Gongwars, and cannon firing at all hours. Cheit Sing
" has sent money to Futty Shaw, Ghinoo Roy,
" Ajectmull, Zalim Sing, and all the refractory Rajahs,
" to enable them to raise men. I this moment re-
" ceived Gordon's account of the loss of his detach-
" ment, which puts my march to join you out of the
" question. It happened by the villainy of the Fouzdar
" of Tanda Shumsheer Khan, a Cheelah of Behar Ally.

" Khan, who turned his guns upon the detachment,
" and an unfordable nullah in front and many thou-
" sands of Rajepoots, who had fought them all the
" way from Chowra Ghaut, made the sepoys despair.
" Zalim Sing, and Putty Puul Sing mean to attack
" McDonald to-morrow, with two thousand one hun-
" dred men. Behar Ally Khan deserves death ; as the
" loss of Gordon's detachment can only be imputed to
" him—his Cheelah would never have acted so damn-
" ing a part without orders from him. Jewar Ally
" Khan, in the Choke of Fyzabad, asks every man
" who bears the appearance of a soldier, why he goes
" not to Cheit Sing for service—I mention these cir-
" cumstances that you may mention them to Mr.
" Hastings and the Nabob, and the necessary steps
" be immediately taken, to prevent what delay will
" render a very serious matter. A few days more will
" lead the ferment which is here to Lucknow. If the
" Nabob insists upon my proceeding, I must bring
" every body with me, for whoever is left behind will
" be sacrificed."

On the 7th September, Capt. Williams writes,
" Upon my arrival here, I found that part of Futty
" Shaw's, Ghunoo Roy's, and Ajectmull's people had
" crossed to Manjowlay. They have been urged to
" this step by Cheit, who has supplied them with a
" considerable sum of money, and promised them
" great sums, if they will put the whole country into
" confusion—five thousand men are on the opposite
" side of the river, ready to cross. Futty Shaw has
" written to all his adherents to be in arms. *Saudit*
" *Ally and the Begums* are concerned deeply in the

" late business." In a subsequent letter, received immediately after the above, but without date, Colonel Hannay says, " I have before told you how violently " the Begum's people inflame the present disturbance; " and, in addition to this, the principal Zemidars and " Rajahs have all certificates under the seal of Cheit " Sing, that he will supply them with whatever money " they may require for subsisting all the troops they " can raise. In a very short time, I apprehend the " greatest part of the Nabob's dominions will be in " the state we are in here; *and it is the general belief* " *of every man in this part of the country, that the* " *conduct I have related, is a concerted plan for the* " *extirpation of the English.* What may be the " situation of the rest of the Nabob's dominions I " know not; but it is most certain, that from Gooda " to Manjee, and from Fyzabad to the Benares district, " and across from the Gogra to the Ganges, the country " is in the utmost ferment. Should the present " disturbances proceed from a plan of policy, it will be " concealed from you as much as possible, and therefore I " take all possible means of communicating to you what " I really know to be fact—I know not whether the " Dawks pass freely from you to Lucknow; but, if " they do not, and no measure is immediately taken " to bring about order, and draw the troops together, " we may be deprived of all possible means of assisting " one another, and the army lost by detached re- " giments: we have no communication with Bengal, " and the troops on this side Benares are at present " too much separated to yield one another timely " assistance. I hope to God a sufficient force is

" ordered for the reduction of Cheit Sing, *for the people* " *who are daily sent to him, horse and foot, from* " *Fyzabad,* and the seat of rebellion I have before " named is *very great.*"

In his next of the 13th, he says, " That it is " impossible, in the general insurrection which now " reigns almost universally, impossible for me to get " the force together the Nabob demanded, or to force " my way to you with a less. The greatest anarchy " prevails—the present insurrection is said, and believed " to be, with an intention to expel the English. I am " compelled to give up all the country below Goonda— " be upon your guard against the Vizier, for there are " many circumstances to make me believe he means to " espouse the cause of Cheit Sing ; the *Begums* have " *almost themselves* recruited for him." In his next letter of the 18th he says, " If you meet with a check " at Benares, every man in the country is ready to fall " upon your scattered parties." " The state of the " Vizier's dominions is in general beyond description ! " The insurrection is not partial, but generally spread " throughout the whole, tho' it rages most violently in " the Mahls of Sultanpore, the Mahls from Fyzabad to " the Benares country, the Mahls on this last side of " the Gogra and in Koonry, Khyrabad, and Syluck ; " and if I may trust to the information I have received, " it is already begun, and will soon rage as violently in " the Shajehanpore, Rohilcund, Kora, and the Doaub. " I have already and repeatedly informed you of the " dispositions of those in Fyzabad, which has in fact " been one of the great sources of the insurrection, and " the place of all others in the Vizier's dominions which

" has supplied Cheit Sing with the greatest number of " troops. The old Begum does, in the most open and " violent manner, support Cheit Sing's rebellion and " the insurrection; and the Nabob's mother's accursed " eunuchs, are not less industrious than those of the " Burra Begum. Capital examples made of Jewar " Ally Khan, and Behur Ally Khan, would, I am " persuaded, have the very best effect." On the 20th, " he says, after restating his own imminent danger, " I " have already written you so fully my reasons of " being convicted of the treachery practised at " Fyzabad, and which I am afraid extends to your " camp, that I need to say no more on the subject, " and again mentions the general insurrections." The truth of these positions I found most fully proved upon my return, and observed, in particular, that the most vigorous efforts were limited to the Jagheerdars, among whom the Begums, Fyzullah Khan, and Lutterfut Ally Khan, distinguished themselves. However, the Nabob's return, the victories gained by the troops with you in the total reduction of Cheit Sing's country, and the march of the two regiments from Cawnpore to our assistance here, have unitedly contributed to restore matters nearly to their usual tranquility. The example most necessary to be made of the two active and turbulent Eunuchs, mentioned by Colonel Hannay, remains yet to be done, as well as of a villain now in confinement, who had assembled 5,000 Gongwars for the avowed purpose of rescuing two principal state prisoners from their confinement with the Nabob; and it is universally believed to make an attempt upon the Treasury, for which he had

fixed the day of the Dussarah, but was most happily detected, seized only a day before by the vigilance of the Cutwal, and the fact proved by papers found in his house; unless spirits of this sort be controuled, the worst of consequences may be expected from the neglect, should, which God avert, any fresh opportunities occur.

I have the honour to be, with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant

(Copy) NATH. MIDDLETON.

A true copy, signed E. Hay, Sub-Secretary to the Honourable Governor-General and Council.

Lucknow, the 17th October, 1781.

Minute of Messrs. WHELER and MACPHERSON.

The Board having already passed their opinion in terms of the fullest approbation upon the Governor-General's conduct, and management, in the suppression of the rebellion of Cheit Sing, and the regulation of the Province and City of Benares, they think it unnecessary to repeat their opinion of those measures.

They cannot, at the same time, but remark, that the explanations which the Governor-General has given in some parts of his proceedings, during his first discussions with Cheit Sing, and subsequent to the

convulsion, are rather an open avowal of the motives that actuated his mind, than the guarded representations of a public officer, stating to his employers the measures which an extraordinary situation influenced, dictated, and justified.

To a liberal and candid tribunal, such was the natural and certainly the wisest appeal. The generosity and justice of a British tribunal looks more to the real motives and zeal of their agent, than to the preconcerted artifice of his conduct, or the legal discriminations of his defence. Even where a public measure is unsuccessful, the responsibility risqued by the agent, if risked upon public principles, is frequently his justification, and, in many cases, entitles him to applause.

In these distant dominions, if the ruling servants of the State attend more to those rules and forms which protect from responsibility, than to an ardent pursuit of the public interest under every private risk, the hands of administration may secure themselves against condemnation, even though the country should be lost through their mismanagement.

It was not by avoiding personal responsibility, that the servants of the public established the British influence in Asia, nor is it by such cold precautions that our power is to be maintained, especially at an hour of general hostility against us. The Board are led into these observations, from an ingenuous consideration of the difficulties in which the Governor-General found himself involved at Benares, and a conviction of the motives under which he acted. The first were surmounted with ability and fortitude; the latter they

most sincerely believe do him real honour. Easy would be the task to approve the suppression of the rebellion, and to stand disconnected with any responsibility, by justifying those acts which certainly precipitated the storm from the cloud in which it had gathered. Acts, which judges at a distance, judges unoppressed with the natural embarrassments of this Government, may with great speciousness of argument condemn. But the Board wish not, they cannot permit themselves to proceed so disingenuously or guardedly. They are at the same time aware that in a rigid investigation of the whole of this business, the following questions will be asked:

1st. Where were the Governor-General's particular instructions for such extraordinary demands upon Cheit Sing?

2d. Why was that Chief put in arrest, when he offered to make every concession?

3dly. Whether there was not a compact between him and the Company which specified that he was only to pay them a certain annual tribute?

Subsequent to the massacre of our troops, and the events that followed, no questions will be asked.—In answer to the first question, the Board think the Governor-General was fully authorized by the general tenor of his instructions.

The Governor-General having a deciding vote, could have written out and approved more particular instructions. There was a delicacy in the mode he preferred, and it composed a greater responsibility.

In regard to the second question, it is evident from Cheit Sing's answers, and preparations, and the whole tenor of his conduct before, and at the time, that nothing but arrest could have convinced him of the Governor-General's determination.

That the arrest was not intended to proceed further than the payment of a proper fine to the Company, who stood in the place of his sovereign and benefactor, is evinced by the Governor-General's answer to Cheit Sing after his confinement.

Had a total revolution in the administration of the Zemidary been intended, the arrest must have been affected with more force and greater marks of severity.

That the officers who went to execute this service, were convinced that no measure of determined severity was intended against Cheit Sing, appears from that unfortunate want of precaution which cost them and their followers their lives.

The third question involves much argument, yet is fully answered by that part of the Governor-General's narrative, which discusses the Sunnud, under which Cheit Sing ruled the province, and which was so liberally granted by the Company. The correspondence with the Indian States, shews clearly their ideas of the rights of Zemidars, and Rajahs protected in their Zemidaries by superior power. Had Cheit Sing been an Ally and a Sovereign Prince, who paid only a fixed subsidy, his military preparations and his incidious conduct under pretences of poverty, in disappointing the expectations of the Government for the army under Major Camac justified, together with his correspondence with our enemies, the severest exaction of aid to assist

the Company in their distresses, and to atone for his ingratitude and treachery to a power who protected him, and to whom he owed his situation.

The Governor-General delivers in the following Minute, in consequence of that of the Board, entered on the proceedings of the 14th ult.

The Governor-General acknowledges his obligations to the Board, for this repeated instance of the liberal manner in which they have been pleased to record his judgment on his conduct. Had it been expressed in the simple terms of official approbation, he should have been pleased and satisfied that it had received so respectable a sanction; but by tracing the sources of it in the motives which he has avowed, by their examination of those motives with their relative facts and circumstances; and by the doubts which they have anticipated and solved on the propriety of such parts of his conduct as might most obviously suggest them, they have justified their own, approved, and entitled him to expect the same favourable sentiments in their common opinion.

Copy of a letter from Mr. F. Balfour, Surgeon, in the Company's service.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., Governor-General, &c.

SIR,

Lucknow, August 28, 1781.

About the month of November last, I communicated to Mr. Markham the substance of a conversation

said to have passed between Rajah Cheit Sing and Saadit Alli, and which was reported to me by a person on whom I had some confidence. The mode of communicating this intelligence to you, I left entirely to Mr. Markham.

In this conversation, which was private, the Rajah and Saadat Alli, were said to have talked of Hyder Ally's victory over Colonel Bailie's detachment, to have agreed, that they ought to seize this opportunity of consulting their own interests, and to have determined to watch the success of Hyder's arms Some days after this conversation was said to have happened, I was informed by the same person, that the Rajah had received a message from one of the Begums at Fyzabad, (I think it was from Shujah u Dowlah's widow) advising him not to comply with the demands of Government, and encouraging him to expect support in case of his resisting. This also I believe I communicated to Mr. Markham ; but not being perfectly certain, I now think it my duty to remove the possibility of your remaining unacquainted with a circumstance which may not be unconnected with the present conduct of the Rajah.

With great respect, Sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

(Signed) FRANCIS BALFOUR.

FINIS.

APPENDIX I.

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LIST OF PAPERS.

No. I. EXTRACT of the proceedings of the Governor-General and Council in their Secret Department, Fort William, the 16th August 1775. Present, the Governor-General, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis. First appointment of Mr. Francis Fowke to Benares.

No. II. Copy of the 10th paragraph of a letter from the Governor General and Council in Bengal, in their Secret Department, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 11th September 1775. Notification of the appointment of Mr. Francis Fowke to Benares.

No. III. Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 2d December 1776. Present, the Governor-General, General Clavering, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis. Recall of Mr. Francis Fowke from Benares.

No. IV. Extract of a letter from General Clavering to the Court of Directors, dated 5th December 1776. On the removal of Mr. Bristow from Oude, and Mr. Francis Fowke from Benares.

No. V. Copy of the 6th paragraph of the General Letter from Bengal, (secret department,) dated 22d December 1776. Notification of the recall of Mr. Francis Fowke from Benares.

No. VI. Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 23d December 1776. Present, the Governor-General, General Clavering, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis. Appointment of Mr. Thomas Graham to be Resident at Benares, and Mr. D. O. Barwell his Assistant.

No. VII. Copy of the 11th paragraph of the general letter from Bengal (Secret Department) dated 6th January 1777, notification of the appointment of Messrs. T. Graham and D. O. Barwell as resident and Assistant at Benares.

No. VIII. Copy of 65th, 66th, and 97th paragraphs of the Company's general letter to Bengal, dated 30th January 1778, reprehending that Government for the recall of Mr. Francis Fowke from Benares, and their subsequent appointment of Messrs. T. Graham and D. O. Barwell to that Residency, and directing the immediate reinstatement of the former as Resident and Postmaster there.

No. IX. Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 20th July 1778. Present, the Governor-General, and Messrs. Barwell, Francis, and Wheler. Resolution to suspend the execution of the Company's orders with respect to Mr. Francis Fowke.

No. X. Copy of a letter from Mr. Francis Fowke to the Secretary of the Superior Council in Bengal dated 21st July 1778, requesting to know if any and what proceedings had passed with respect to his reinstatement at Benares.

XI. Copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Superior Council in Bengal to Mr. Francis Fowke, dated 29th July 1778, enclosing, by order, copy of the resolution of the 20th.

XII. Copy of a letter from Mr. Francis Fowke to the Governor-General and Council in Bengal, dated 12th August 1778, requesting to be informed if any accusation had been made against him, otherwise trusting that the Company's orders cocerning him would be carried into execution.

XIII. Copy of the 25th paragraph of the general letter from Bengal, (Public Department,) dated 17th August 1778, notifying the suspension of the Company's orders with respect to Mr. Francis Fowke.

XIV. Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 7th September 1778. Present, the Governor-General, and Messrs. Barwell, Francis, and Wheler. A motion to inform Mr. Francis Fowke that the board had no reason to be dissatisfied with his conduct, and that no charge had been preferred against him, negatived by the previous question.

XV. Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 1st of April 1779 Present. the Governor-General, Messrs. Barwell, Francis, and Wheler, and Sir Eyre Coote. Proceedings on a motion for reinstating Mr. Francis Fowke at Benares, agreeably to the Company's orders.

XVI. Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 5th April 1779. Present, the Governor-General, Messrs. Barwell, Francis, and Wheler, and Sir Evre Coote. Continuation of proceedings on the motion

of the 1st instant concerning Mr. Francis Fowke. The motion negatived.

No. XVII. Copy of the 12th paragraph of the general letter from Bengal, dated 22d April 1779, notifying that a motion in Council for reinstating Mr. Francis Fowke at Benares had been negatived.

No. XVIII. Copy of the 4th paragraph of the Company's general letter to Bengal, dated 14th May 1779, deferring, till receipt of the Bengal consultations, a decision on the suspension of their positive and peremptory orders relative to Mr. Francis Fowke.

No. XIX. Copy of the 40th paragraph of the Company's general letter to Bengal, dated 27th May 1779, strongly reprehending the disobedience to their commands relative to Mr. Francis Fowke, and again directing that they be carried into immediate execution.

No. XX. Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 17th February 1780. Present, the Governor-General, and Messrs. Francis and Wheler, (Mr. Barwell indisposed). Reinstatement of Mr. Francis Fowke at Benares.

No. XXI. Copy of the 46th paragraph of the general letter from Bengal, dated 3d March 1780, notifying the reinstatement of Mr. Francis Fowke at Benares.

No. XXII. Copy of an address to the Court of Directors from Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh, dated 2d January 1782, representing the removal of his nephew Mr. Francis Fowke from the Residency of Benares, and praying that redress may be granted to him by the ships under dispatch.

XXIII. Extract of a general letter from Bengal, dated 3d February 1781, received 4th January 1782, notifying the recall of Mr. Francis Fowke from Benares, and the appointment of Mr. Markham in his room; also Mr. Fowke's nomination to be Agent for the provision of boats to the army after the expiration of the present contract.

No. XXIV. Copy of an Address to the Court of Directors from Lieutent-Colonel John Walsh, dated 23d January 1782, repeating his request for redress to be granted to Mr. Francis Fowke by the dispatches to Bengal then about to be closed.

No. XXV. Copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Court of Directors to Lieutenant-Colonel John Walsh, dated 29th January 1782, informing him that his addresses of the 2d and 23d instant were referred to the Committee of Correspondence, who had not yet come to any determination thereon.

No. XXVI. Copy of the 46th paragraph of the general letter from Bengal (Secret Department) dated the 27th April 1781; received 5th February 1782, notifying again the recall of Mr. Francis Fowke from Benares, and appointment of him to be Agent for the provision of boats to the army after the expiration of the present contract, also Mr. William Markham's appointment to that Residency.

No. XXVII. Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 14th January 1781; Present, the Governor-General and Mr. Wheler. Recall of Mr. Francis Fowke from Benares and appointment of Mr. William Markham in his room, with Mr. Benn assistant. Appointment of Mr. Francis Fowke to be agent for

providing boats for the army after the expiration of Colonel Morgan's contract, with a commission of 15 per cent. on his expenditures, and permission to draw for his present salary of 1,000 Rupees per month to the time he enters on the agency and three months after.

[*N. B.* As the records of Council for January 1781, have not yet been received by the Court of Directors, the extract No. XXVII. has been furnished by favour of Major John Scott, Agent for the Governor-General in political concerns,]

APPENDIX II.

No. I.

Extract of the Proceedings of the Governor-General and Council, in their Secret Department, Fort William, the 16th August, 1775. Present, the Governor-General, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis.

GENERAL. Clavering moves, that a Company's servant be sent up to Benares, to carry with him the Sunnuds of investiture to the Raja from the Company, and to inform himself of the nature of the mint, the species of rupees that are coined in it, how much the person who farmed it paid to the Soubah of Oude, or to his ministers, in presents: as likewise with the nature of the Cutwally, and what the advantages of it were to the person who farmed it; in order to make such a settlement with the Raja as may be equally advantageous to him and the Company.

Mr. Francis agrees to the motion.

Mr. Barwell. I looked upon the motion to be carried by the last resolution of the board, and that the choice

of a person remains only to be determined. The Company, in the extra charges to which they have already been put, may have occasion to complain; and as economy, and dispatch may be equally promoted, I beg leave to mention Colonel Main, the officer commanding at Chunar, as the most eligible person: little or no charges will be incurred by his just moving from Chunar to Benares; and, besides, he is the best qualified, from his local knowledge.

Colonel Monson agrees to the motion of General Clavering.

The Governor-General objects to this motion.

Resolved, a covenanted servant be appointed to go to Benares, to take the Sunnuds of investiture to the Rajah, &c. also to make the investigations necessary to enable the board to come to a final settlement with the Rajah for that Zemindary.

General Clavering moves, that Mr. Francis Fowke be appointed to execute this service; a young man exceeding well qualified, from his knoweledge in the Persian tongue, and his unexceptionable good character.

Mr. Francis. I believe Mr. Francis Fowke to be perfectly qualified for the service proposed; and I agree to the motion.

Mr. Barwell. The unhappy differences that have prevailed at the board, the particular part which Mr. Joseph Fowke has acted since the commencement of the new government, the particular predicament in which he stands at present, I am sorry to observe, makes Mr. Francis Fowke, his son, the most improper nomination for a commission of this kind that could have been thought of nor can I conceive why it should have been

thought of, unless for the express purpose of lowering the Governor-General in the eyes of the Raja of Benares, as well as of all India, by the selection of this gentleman. I have no other objection to Mr. Francis Fowke. Was it in my power I would serve him, but not at the expense, or in degradation of the first character of the state. I therefore wish that Mr. Francis Fowke's nomination may not be carried.

Colonel Monson. I do not comprehend Mr. Barwell's chain of reasoning, that the employing an unexceptionable Company's servant can be any degradation to the Governor-General's consequence or honour, or lower his dignity in the eyes of the public: had Mr. Francis Fowke been an exceptionable character, there might have been some degree of justness in Mr. Barwell's observation; but, as Mr. Barwell himself declares he wishes to serve him, I do not comprehend why he will not on this occasion testify to Mr. Fowke this inclination. I believe Mr. Fowke to be qualified for this appointment, and therefore approve of the nomination.

General Clavering is for his own nomination.

The Governor-General. I am not surprized at the motion now before the board: I expected it at the time in which it was resolved, in contradiction to the former opinion of the board, to permit Mr. Joseph Fowke to return to Benares. I consider the present appointment as the appointment, not of Mr. Francis Fowke, but of Mr. Joseph Fowke, whose influence over his son will reduce the authority of the latter to a mere shadow; I therefore disapprove of the motion; I protest against it.

Agreed, that Mr. Francis Fowke be appointed to

proceed to Benares, for the purposes already resolved on.

Ordered, that instructions be prepared for him accordingly, with a letter of credence to Raja Cheyt Sing.

No. II.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor-General and Council in Bengal, in their Secret Department, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 11th September, 1775.

Par. 10. In our letter of the 3rd August, of which you will receive a duplicate by this ship, you are advised of the acquisition of the territories of Raja Cheyt Sing to the Company, and of the steps which we had then taken towards settling with him for that Zemindary. On the 16th of that month we again took this subject into consideration, and called the Vakeel before us, who had received an answer from his master to our first offer; but not being able to ascertain from him the fineness and quantity of the silver of the Gourshay rupees, in which coin the tribute from the Rajah is to be paid, nor the exact amount which the late farmers of the Mint and Cutwally at Benares, and the Cutwally at Juanpore, had paid annually to the Nabob and his officers for the grant of those articles, we judged it necessary to appoint a person to proceed to Benares, to

make sundry local investigations into these and other points, to enable us to come to a final adjustment with the Raja ; and we accordingly appointed Mr. Francis Fowke. In the mean time, we agreed that the Raja should continue to pay at Benares the exact sum, and in the same species of rupees, as he had paid to the late and present Nabobs of Oude, that is say, 23,72,65612 Gourshay rupees, exclusive of the Mint, Cutwally, and and other articles, which the Nabob held in his own right.

No. III.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 2nd December, 1776. Present, the Governor-General, General Clavering, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis.

The Governor-General also moves, that Mr. Francis Fowke be recalled from Benares, and his commission annulled ; the express purposes thereof having been accomplished.

Mr. Francis. I need not bring my opinion in writing upon either of these motions. To the first I make no objection ; but as to the recall of Mr. Francis Fowke, I know no motive for it ; on the contrary, I am satisfied that his presence at Benares has been of signal use in preventing the delays of the remittance of the tribute ; and to my knowledge he has done nothing to incur the

displeasure of the board; I cannot therefore consent to his recall.

Mr. Barwell: The express purposes to which Mr. Fowke was first appointed, were, the investiture of the Raja, and the setting a mode for the remittance of his tribute: his commission ceased the instant the object of it was accomplished, and Mr. Fowke ought then to have been remanded to Calcutta; he holds no appointment; and therefore it cannot properly be styled a removal: I assent therefore to Mr. Fowke's being called to the presidency.

General Clavering. In regard to the recall of Mr. Fowke, and the annulling of his office, I can not help considering it as a vindictive measure, couched under the appearance of public service, and therefore dissent to the motion.

Governor-General. I agree to the motion.

Resolved, that the motion proposed by the Governor-General be crrried in the affirmative.

The following letter is accordingly written to Mr. Fowke.

To Mr. Francis Fowke.

Sir,

The objects proposed by your appointment, to proceed to Benares, being now accomplished, we have thought it necessary to annul the Commission which was given you for that purpose: we therefore direct thot you return to this presidency immediatly on receipt hereof.

We are, &c

No. IV.

Extract of a letter from General Clavering to the Court of Directors, dated 5th December, 1776.

The restraint that I had laid on myself not to infringe further on the rules of the service than was necessary, for the explanation of my conduct in the part I am obliged to take, gives way again to the obligation I feel myself under, in the strict discharge of my duty, to acquaint you with some of the last transactions of the Council after the departure of the Nassau, as their being undertaken precisely at that juncture seem calculated to conceal, as long as possible, the information of them from your notice.

The first subject is, the removal of Mr. Bristow from the post of Resident with the Vizier, and the reappointment of Mr. Middleton. The next is the recall of Mr. Francis Fowke from Benares.

Having annexed the entire consultation on both subjects, I will forbear to make any reflections on the proceedings leaving it to your honourable board to decide, how far the good of your service has been consulted in removing two gentlemen, who have each distinguished themselves; the first, in obtaining for the Company an addition of thirty lacks a year to their former revenue; and the second, in re-establishing hse coinage of Benares, by means of which they exact amount of the subsidy is ascertained, and then fixing the rate of the remittance on the most advantageou

terms to the Company. As to Mr. Middleton's reappointment, you yourselves, gentlemen, as well as the proprietors, are too much interested in the support of your own dignity, and too sensibly wounded in the step taken to restore him to an office from which he had been dismissed after the solemn condemnation which you had given on his conduct for not submitting his correspondence to the Supreme Council, for me to mention and lay a stress on the little regard the chief of a Council shews to the honour of a Government over which he presides, to recommend a servant to fill any post till he has made the satisfaction required of him, not only to the Government in which he serves, but to his masters and superiors, on whom he ultimately depends.

No. V.

Extract of the Secret General Letter from Bengal, dated 22nd December, 1776.

Par. 6. The purposes for which Mr. Francis Fowke was appointed to proceed to Raja Cheyt Sing, at Benares, being now fully accomplished, we have annulled his commission, and ordered him to return to the presidency.

No. VI.

Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 23d December, 1776. Present, the Governor-General, General Clavering, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis.

The Governor-General moves, that a civil servant of the Company be appointed to reside at Benares on the part of this Government, for the purpose of transacting any occasional business which may arise between this Government and the Raja of Benares; and that Mr. Thomas Graham may be nominated to this office, and Mr. Daniel Barwell to be his assistant.

Mr. Francis. If a civil servant was necessary for the purpose described in the motion, I conceive that Mr. Francis Fowke was perfectly well qualified for that office. I have no objection, however, to either of the gentlemen recommended by the Governor-General.

Mr. Barwell agrees to the motion.

General Clavering. I object to it, and leave the responsibility of the measure with the Governor-General, who must answer for it,

Resolved, that a civil servant of the Company be appointed to reside at Benares, on the part of this Government, for the purpose of transacting any occasional business which may arise between this Government and the Raja of Benares.

Agreed, that Mr. Thomas Graham be nominated to this office; and that Mr. Daniel Barwell be appointed his assistant.

No. VII.

Extract of the Secret General Letter from Bengal, 6th January, 1777.

Par. 11. We have thought it proper to appoint a Company's servant to reside at Benares, for the purpose of transacting any occasional business, that may arise between this Government and Raja Cheyt Sing. This appointment has been given to Mr. Thomas Graham, and Mr. D. O. Barwell has been nominated his assistant.

No. VIII.

Extract of the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 30th January, 1778.

Par. 65. In your secret letter of the 19th of December, 1776, you inform us, that the purposes for which Mr. Francis Fowke was appointed to proceed to Benares being fully accomplished, you had annulled his commission, and ordered him to the Presidency; but it appears by your letter of the 6th of January, 1777, that in less than twenty days you thought proper to appoint Mr. Thomas Graham to reside at Benares, and Mr. Daniel Octavus Barwell to be his assistant.

Par. 66. If it were possible to suppose that a saving to the Company had been your motive for annulling

Mr. Fowke's commission, we should have approved your proceedings; but when we find two persons appointed immediately afterwards, with two salaries, to execute an office which had been filled with reputation by Mr. Fowke alone, and that Mr. Graham enjoys all the emoluments annexed to the office of Mr. Fowke, we must be of opinion, that Mr. Fowke was removed without just cause, to make room for Mr. Graham; and that the addition of Mr. Barwell's salary is a clear loss of three hundred rupees per month to the Company.

Par. 67. As it was not pretended that Mr. Fowke's conduct had been exceptionable, as he had executed with the greatest punctuality and exactness the like office to which you have how appointed Mr. Graham; and as the dissent of Mr. Francis, and the protest of General Clavering, on the occasion, had no effect, we think it proper to interfere; and therefore direct, that Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately reinstated in his office of Resident and Postmaster at Benares; we however think proper to declare, that though we mean by this order to do an act of public justice, we by no means intend it as a mark of disapprobation of the conduct of Mr. Graham, whom we believe to be a very deserving servant of the Company.

No. IX.

Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 20th July, 1778. Present, the Governor-General, and Messrs. Barwell, Francis, and Wheler.

Read the general letter, dated 30th January last, received from the Hon. the Court of Directors by the Grosvenor and Osterly.

Par. 65, 66, and 67. Governor-General. I must request that the Board will suspend the execution of this order. The spirit and intention of it is evident, and publicly known both in England and here. With these considerations in view, my consent to the recall of Mr. Graham would be adequate to my own resignation of the service, because it would inflict such a wound in my authority and influence, that I could not maintain it. In the course of a few days we may expect to hear of the resolutions which have been taken by our superiors, and of the appointments which have been made to fill the vacancy occasioned in this government, by the death of the late Sir John Clavering. These will be likewise decisive of my own situation in the service. I need not say more to urge the propriety of suspending the execution of this order of the Court of Directors. Mr. Thompson, in his letter from Marseilles, dated the 18th of April, mentions that a packet containing the news of the General's death, had been dispatched to London from that port, from his Majesty's agent there, seven days before, and it is probable that the Swallow carried this intelligence earlier. We may

therefore expect, that the Caranja, which was to depart from Suez immediately on receipt of the confirmation of the war, will bring us those decisive orders which I look for; and these may arrive to-morrow, or in the course of a very few days.

Mr. Francis. The Court of Directors order Mr. Francis Fowke to be *immediately* reinstated in his office. To suspend the execution of such an order is to disobey it. In another part of the same letter (par. 41) they say, "We can on no account permit our orders to be "disobeyed, and our authority disregarded." When the Company's orders to me are clear and positive, I do not deem myself at liberty to withhold my obedience to them on any consideration whatever; unless a new situation of affairs unknown to, and unforeseen by, the Court of Directors, should make it impracticable or dangerous to carry them into execution: I am therefore against the motion.

Mr. Wheler. I am of opinion that the order should be immediately carried into execution.

Mr. Barwell. While Mr. Hastings is in the government, the respect and dignity of his station should be supported. In these sentiments I must decline an acquiescence in any order which has a tendency to bring the government into disrepute; as the Company have the means and the power of forming their own administration in India, they may at their pleasure place whom they please at the head. But, in my opinion, they are not authorized to treat a person in that post with indignity.

Resolved, that the execution of this order be suspended.

Mr. Francis. I beg leave to enter my dissent to this resolution.

No. X.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Francis Fowke to the Secretary of the Superior Council in Bengal.

To J. P. Auriol, Esq.; Secretary to the Hon. the Superior Council.

Sir, Calcutta, 21st July, 1778.

My friends in England having transmitted to me a notification in form, which they have received, importing, that an order of the Honourable the Court of Directors, for my instant re-appointment to the post of Resident at Benares, was transmitted by the Grosvenor, and a considerable time being now elapsed since the receipt of the packet, I humbly request of the Honourable Board, that I may be informed of any resolutions which may have passed in consequence of the above order, and that I may be furnished with a copy of their proceedings upon the subject.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

FRANCIS FOWKE.

No. XI.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Superior Council, in Bengal, to Mr. Francis Fowke.

To Mr. Francis Fowke.

Sir,

In consequence of your address to the Hon. the Governor-General and Council, requesting to be informed of any resolutions which may have passed on the orders of the Court of Directors respecting you, and to be furnished with a copy of the proceedings upon the subject, I am directed to transmit you the enclosed extract of the consultation, 20th instant.

Council Chamber, the 29th July, 1778.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. P. AURIOL.

Extract of Consultation, 20th July, 1778.

Read the General Letter, dated the 30th January last, received from the Hon. the Court of Directors, by the Grosvenor and Osterly.

Par. 64, 65, 66, and 67. Resolved, that the execution of this order be suspended.

A true extract:
J. P. AURIOL
Secretary.

No. XII.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Francis Fowke to the Governor-General and Council in Bengal.

To the Hon. Warren Hastings, Esq.; Governor-General &c. Superior Council of Fort William.

Hon. Sirs,

I acknowledge with great thankfulness your condescension, in conveying to me, through Mr. Secretary Auriol, the resolution you have passed to suspend the execution of the Company's order, dated 30th January, 1778, directing, that "Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately reinstated in his office of Resident and Postmaster at Benares." By this indulgence I have an opportunity afforded me of humbly remonstrating against the severity of your sentence, which is nearly equal to dismission from the service.

An order of the Court of Directors, made public only a few days ago, positively forbids any covenanted servant to return to England, under any pretence of obtaining redress there for injuries received here, without first making an appeal to them through the channel of the President and Council abroad. The existence of this order necessarily supposes that no covenanted servant can be dismissed or suspended from his offices in India without some previous trial, at least some charge or some accusation to which he may be suffered to reply. On any other supposition the Court of Directors can have no materials lying before them to conduct their judgment of his merits. I stand exactly in this

predicament, and submit to your candour to determine whether the case be not a hard one. I see a simple resolution which suspends me from my offices, and am left to guess at the causes which influence it. In such a situation I cannot be free from anxiety. Conscious of my own innocence and integrity, I *will* hope that your justice will relieve me. If there are any accusations laid against me, let my accusers stand forth; let me answer them face to face: I must believe there are some, because I am confident your justice would not permit me to be condemned on *no* grounds, however you might have mistaken them.

I am sensible that my situation obliges me to the most perfect submission to your orders; yet, as my own honour, and that of my family, will not allow me to sit silent under a disgrace, it was a duty incumbent upon me to defend my reputation. In the offices I have filled, I have strictly adhered to my duty, and cannot charge myself with having ever been deficient in respect to my superiors. The same conduct I shall ever observe. If you find, on a candid examination, that the merit I lay claim to is my due, I trust that your Hon. Board will be pleased to carry into execution the Hon. the Court of Directors orders, for my immediate reappointment to the offices of President and Postmaster at Benares.

I remain, with the greatest respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most faithful
and most obedient servant,
FRANCIS FOWKE.

Calcutta,
12th August, 1778.

No. XIII.

Extract of the General Letter from Bengal, dated 17th August, 1778.

Par. 25. We have resolved to suspend the execution of that part of your commands, dated 30th January last, which relate to Mr. Francis Fowke, and must beg leave to refer you to our records for the motives which swayed with us in this instance.

No. XIV.

Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 7th September, 1778. Present, the Governor-General, and Messrs. Barwell, Francis, and Wheler.

Read a letter from Mr. Fowke. See No. XII.

Mr. Francis. I move, that the Secretary may be directed to inform Mr. Francis Fowke, that the Board have no reason to be dissatisfied with any part of his conduct in the Company's service, and that no charge has been preferred against him to the Board.

Mr. Wheler. I agree to the motion.

Mr. Barwell. The Board having already denied to Mr. Fowke the satisfaction he required, by ordering

simply the resolution of the Board to be furnished by the Secretary, I move the previous question.

Mr. Wheler and Mr. Francis against the motion.

Governor-General. I am for the previous question. All applications of this kind are irregular. The Board are not accountable to Mr. Fowke for their resolution respecting him. The reasons for suspending the execution of the orders of the Court of Directors contain no charge, nor the slightest imputation of a charge, against Mr. Fowke; but I see no reason why the Board should condescend to tell him so.

The previous question being carried.

Resolved, that Mr. Francis's question be not put.

No. XV.

Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 1st April, 1779. Present, the Governor-General, Messrs. Barwell, Francis, and Wheler, and Sir Eyre Coote.

Mr. Francis. I move, that the 65th, 66th, and 67th paragraphs of the Company's general letter of the 30th January, 1778, and the proceedings of this Board of the 20th July, 1778, be now read.

Read the paragraphs 65, 66, and 67 of the general letter, dated the 30th January, 1778, and the proceedings of the 20th July, 1778.

Mr. Francis. I move, that the Company's orders,

contained in the preceding paragraphs, be carried into execution ; that Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately reinstated in his office of Resident and Postmaster at Benares ; and that Mr. Thomas Graham be ordered to deliver over charge of those offices forthwith to Mr. Francis Fowke.

Governor-General. I have expected this motion, and I expect many more of a similar nature to be introduced by Mr. Francis, for the purpose of forcing the new member of this government to declare himself a party in disputes in which he has no concern, and in which I will venture to express my belief that it is not his wish to be involved. The order of the Company which has been read was addressed to this administration before Sir Eyre Coote was a member of it. It was also read, and a resolution passed upon it, before Sir Eyre Coote's appointment. I presume, therefore, to say, that it is irregularly brought before the Board at this time. For though his voice may be now required, and may be given upon the motion, yet, as it respects the act of a former administration, and an act already done, the responsibility of that act rests only with those who constitutionally passed it, and ought not to be thrown upon him, unless he is desirous that it should be revised, and that he may participate in it. If our records are to undergo a new scrutiny, and every measure which they contain to be examined by the scale of the Company's orders, or by the judgment of the present administration, the time of the Board will not suffice even in a daily meeting of it, for so multiplied a research, and for the debates which must necessarily accompany it. If this retrospect is not to affect all the resolutions and all

the measures of the past government, on what principle is a selection made of a question which has its basis in a party distinction, and is determinable only by party principles. The resolution for suspending the execution of the Company's orders on the 20th July, 1778, was notified to the Court of Directors in our dispatches by the Eagle packet, dated the 17th August. Their answer may be received, and ought to be expected, before the period which the Act of Parliament has prescribed for the duration of this Government. To prevent their orders, by an intermediate decision of a point of such magnitude referred to them, is neither, in my judgment, consistent with the respect which is due to their authority, nor with the actual state of this government, already oppressed with difficulties which demand the strenuous and united exertion of all its powers, and which it tends to throw into utter confusion; and for what! Let the person who made the motion say, what is the object of it. Is the reinstatement, as it is called, of Mr. Francis Fowke to an office which he never held, of such weighty consequence to the interests of the East India Company, and of the British nation in India, that for this the first executive member of their first government must be treated with insult, and either keep his seat, to be a partaker of a scene of anarchy and confusion during the short but momentous interval which remains of the power which we unitedly hold, or leave it and a government embarrassed with new and perhaps greater distractions?

I desire that the paragraphs of the general letter and the extract of our proceedings, which have been read,

may be entered after the first motion made by Mr. Francis. I most earnestly recommend them to the serious attention and reflection of the other members of this Board, and to those of the Commander-in-Chief most especially. I hope that the decision in this question will not be precipitated ; that the consequences of it may be weighed, before an act so critical and decisive be irrevocably passed. I came unprepared for it, not ignorant, indeed, that it would be brought on at an early time; for the public voice has loudly announced it ; but I did not expect to be surprised with it on a day, and in a department, devoted to business, from which this is entirely foreign. I therefore hope and request that the other members will suspend their decision until the next meeting of the Board in the general department.

Mr. Francis. The present question does not properly lie between the Governor-General and me, but between this Board and that authority which the legislature has placed over us. The propriety of waiting for further orders, when we have positive orders before us, may at any time be pleaded with equal reason as at present and may as easily defeat any future orders, however peremptory, in confirmation of the past, as those which we have already received. The personal appeal made to Sir Eyre Coote obliges me to take this opportunity of assuring him, that I will never bring any question of this nature forward, in which it will be possible for a member of this Board to take part against me, without at the same time taking part against the Court of Directors. As for the rest, I shall content myself with saying, that the Governor-General has formed a very erroneous judgment of my intentions.

If the public voice has already announced my design to introduce the present motion, it is a strong presumptive proof of the public expectation and, as I think, of their judgment upon the resolution which I propose to have reversed. As for myself, I declare upon my honour, and if there be that man living who can contradict me let him come forward, that I never did directly or indirectly, or by the most distant intimation, acquaint any person, not a member of this Board, of my design to move the present question. As the Governor-General expected it and as the question itself is of a very plain and simple nature, I think there is no ground for deferring the decision of it. At all events, I have done my duty and shall give the Board no further trouble.

Sir Eyre Coote. Being called upon by my King and country to fill a post in this part of the world of the highest importance to the State, it was with the greatest diffidence I undertook that service, well knowing the great difficulties I had to encounter from the unfortunate differences which had arisen among the members of the Supreme Council. I therefore determined not to take a part in those differences, it being, in my opinion the surest method that I could devise of putting an end to them; and conceiving that any kind of retrospect would prove fatal to my wishes, was determined to prevent them as much as lay in my power, by bringing forward no matter, the decision of which I was not immediately answerable for the consequences of; paying at the same time implicit obedience to the orders of the Court of Directors, which I am determined to adhere to for my line of conduct. I agree to suspend the decision

of the question till the next meeting of the Council in the general department.

Mr. Wheler. It cannot be considered precipitate in me to give an immediate opinion upon the present question, my sentiments being already recorded. I therefore, to prevent the implication of giving a hasty opinion, desire leave to record my further sentiments at this meeting of the Board.

Mr. Barwell. I feel much concerned on the present occasion. The forcing on a question on a matter that has passed judgment, and which, if decided, must be a confirmation or reversion of that judgment, independent of the authority to which it is submitted, will, I fear, not tend to conciliate the differences of the Board, which I flattered myself might have drawn to a period. The consequences are very obvious. I hope, however, the temper and moderation of Sir Eyre Coote will decide for terminating the distractions which have hitherto prevailed. It is with great pleasure I observe in the delivery of Sir Eyre's sentiments a resolution, so decidedly expressed, of consulting alone the honour and interests of the government and fixing our councils, if possible, to that particular point only. I am so well aware of the consequences to result from hastily deciding on an act of the administration, under the present change in its circumstances in the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, that I entirely concur in the wish expressed by the Governor-General to suspend the question.

Mr. Wheler. As the members of the Board have not objected to my request of entering my opinion upon the main question, I beg leave to do it in the following words; that, as I cannot discover, either in the minute

entered by the Governor-General, or in the 25th paragraph of our general letter to the Court of Directors of the 17th August by the Eagle packet, the shadow of an argument that can induce me to alter my former opinion, much less justify me in the disobedience of a positive order from the Court of Directors, I am for the question.

Resolved, that the decision of the question proposed by Mr. Francis be suspended until the next meeting of the Board in this department.

No. XVI.

Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 5th April, 1779. Present, the Governor-General, Messrs. Barwell, Francis, and Wheler, and Sir Eyre Coote.

Mr. Francis's motion, recorded in the last consultation, being now again taken into consideration, Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote delivers in the following minute.

Since the last meeting of the Board in this department, I have had time to reflect very maturely upon the nature and tendency of the question now depending.

In my former minute upon the subject, I declared the two ruling principles of my conduct to be, the desire of avoiding every kind of retrospect, and a firm resolution to pay an implicit obedience to the orders of the Company.

And however difficult it may seem to reconcile an adherence to both under the present circumstance, since, by passing an opinion on the question I should seem to swerve from the one, and by declining it to lose sight of the other, I yet flatter myself that the conduct which agrees with my own feelings will also meet with the approbation of this Board.

I declare therefore, that had I had the honour of a seat here at the time the Company's instructions respecting Mr. Fowke were received, I should certainly have joined most heartily with those gentlemen who were for putting them into immediate execution, as I shall ever do in regard to any future orders which may be given by the Company while I remain in the service. But as the whole of this transaction passed before my arrival, and as the result of the last proceedings thereupon now lies before the Directors for their ultimate decision, I desire to wave the giving any present opinion upon it and to reserve my vote till their orders are received, when I shall most assuredly give it in support of them.

Mr. Francis. The question is, whether a positive order of the Court of Directors shall or shall not be obeyed. I suppose it is hardly necessary for me to say what my opinion is: I act in conformity to it in giving my vote for the question.

Mr. Barwell. Mr. Francis must excuse me if I can not receive the question as it stands explained by him: I apprehend no one who shall take the whole subject into his consideration will allow it to be so compendious. It is not a question on the Company's orders. However, I am willing to suppress the reflections that arise in my

mind to the harmony of our future councils. I am against the question.

The Governor-General. It is unnecessary to express my further sense of the question, or the manner in which it has been concluded; I shall therefore only say that I am against the question.

Mr. Francis's question resolved in the negative.

Mr. Francis. I beg leave to enter my dissent and protest against the resolution.

No. XVII.

Extract of the General Letter from Bengal, dated the 22d April, 1779.

Par. 12. A Motion was made at one of our meetings, that the orders contained in the 65th, 66th, and 67th paragraphs of your general letter of the 30th January 1778, should be carried into execution: The question was resolved in the negative; and we beg leave to refer you to our proceedings on this subject for your more particular information.

No. XVIII.

Extract of the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 14th May, 1779.

Par. 4. In answer to the 25th paragraph of your letter of the 17th August last, respecting the appointment we assigned to Mr. Francis Fowke, we only remark, that as the consultations are not yet before us, we must defer our decision on the subject and hope the reasons which swayed you, so far as to induce you to suspend the execution of a positive and peremptory order of the Court of Directors, will be found sufficient to justify your conduct on that extraordinary occasion.

No. XIX.

Extract of the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 27th May, 1779.

Par. 40. We have read with astonishment your formal resolution to suspend the execution of our orders relative to Mr. Francis Fowke; your proceedings at large are now before us; we shall take such measures as appear necessary for preserving the authority of the Court of Directors and for preventing such instances of direct and wilful disobedience in our servants in time to come. At present we repeat the commands contained

in the 67th paragraph of our letter of the 30th of January 1778, and direct that they be carried into immediate execution.

No. XX.

Extract of Bengal Public Consultations, the 27th February, 1780. Present, the Governor-General, and Messrs. Francis and Wheler. Mr. Barwell indisposed.

Read the 40th paragraph of the general letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated 27th May, 1779.

Agreed, that Mr. Francis Fowke be appointed Resident at Benares, in conformity to the intention of the Court of Directors; and that Mr. Thomas Graham be directed to deliver over the charge of that office to him on his arrival there.

No. XXI.

Extract of the General Letter from Bengal, dated 3d March, 1780.

Par. 46. We have the honour to acquaint you, that in conformity to your last commands of the 27th

May 1779, Mr. Francis Fowke has been appointed Resident at Benares, and Mr. Thomas Graham recalled from the station.

No. XXII.

Copy of an Address to the Court of Directors from Lieutenant-Colonel John Walsh.

To the Hon. the Court of Directors of the United East India Company.

East India House, 2d January 1782.

Honourable,

I yesterday received a letter from Calcutta, informing me that my nephew Francis Fowke was, on the 12th January 1781, again dismissed from his office at Benares, to which he had, not quite a twelvemonth before, returned in consequence of your own express orders, but which were not permitted to take place till reiterated in the strongest terms; that his assistant Mr. Markham, certainly a most unexceptionable young gentleman and I believe by no one more esteemed than by my nephew, was nominated in his room; and that the reversion of the Agency for supplying the army with boats was intended for him, but as this agency could not take place till the September following, he would be permitted to draw for his usual salary at Benares of 1,000 rupees a month to that time and three months

after. Lest the favourable terms in which, as I understand, he is mentioned in the very minutes, by which he is removed from Benares, should induce your Honours to suppose that he had acquiesced in the measure, I have to assure you from his nearest relations in Calcutta, to whose knowledge it had come, that they consider it as a severe injury and a great misfortune. I am informed that the public advices from Bengal do not reach to the time of this transaction, but I must nevertheless entreat, as I can produce indubitable proofs of its existence, that the present dispatch to India may convey redress to a servant, I will presume to say of merit, deprived of the office which you yourselves expressly and repeatedly have confirmed to him.

I have the honour to be with respect,
Honourable,
Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
JOHN WALSH.

No. XXIII.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor-General and Council to the Court of Directors, dated 3d February 1781; received 4th January 1782.

Mr. Francis Fowke recalled from Benares and appointed Agent for the provision of boats to the army

after the expiration of the present contract. Mr. Markham appointed Resident at Benares.

No. XXIV.

Copy of an Address to the Court of Directors from Lieutenant-Colonel John Walsh.

To the Hon. the Court of Directors of the United East India Company.

Chesterfield-Street, 23d January 1782.

Honourable,

As the public advices to Bengal by the ships now under dispatch are on the point of being closed, I humbly request to know if my letter of the 2d instant, concerning the recall of my nephew Francis Fowke from Benares, has been taken into consideration; and whether any and what redress your Honours have been pleased to order by this dispatch to be made to him, on account of his removal from an office, to which he was appointed by express orders from the Court of Directors, dated 30th January 1778; the execution, however, of which the Government of Bengal thought proper to suspend, on different pleas at different times, yet none impeaching the merit of Mr. Francis Fowke, until the arrival of reiterated commands from you, dated 27th May 1779, when he was permitted to proceed to Benares, according to your appointment. This was

something more than a year and a half after the receipt of your first orders for his immediate re-instatement as Resident there, and more than three years after his first recall from thence ; all which time he was detained in Calcutta without employ, without appointments, without any recompense, not even the salary of his office made good to him. Whatever hope may be entertained of exacter obedience to the orders which you may be induced to give on this occasion to the Government of Bengal, I cannot avoid, as guardian to the just rights of my nephew, requesting the interference of the Court of Directors in like manner as it was formerly granted by them, when the injustice of his first removal from Benares appeared manifest to them. A public letter from the Government of Bengal, dated 3d February 1781, lately received, contains official information of his fresh recall from Benares, and nomination to be Agent for the provision of boats to the army after the expiration of the present contract ; also of Mr. Markham's appointment to be the Resident in his room. If it is not evident on the face of this measure that it is arbitrary, in violation of your own appointment, and of serious detriment to both the character and fortune of Mr. Francis Fowke ; if it is not evident that he could not have consented to be deprived of a public honourable charge appointed by yourselves, for the promise of a private, obscure, and precarious office, unattended even with the lure of pecuniary advantage, the most convincing documents to demonstrate it may be produced ; but as Major John Scott, lately arrived from Bengal, and acting here in behalf of the Governor-General in his private concerns, did both converse and correspond with Mr. Francis

Fowke on this subject, he can, and I doubt not but he readily will, satisfy your honourable Court, that these measures were taken without the consent of Mr. Francis Fowke. It is equally evident, that public necessity was not the ground for the removal of Mr. Francis Fowke, for what public benefit could arise from displacing a senior servant, promoted to the office for his knowledge in the Persian tongue and unexceptionable good character, and remarked by the Court of Directors to have executed it with the greatest punctuality and exactness, and putting in his room a junior servant, of whose age, time of service, experience in the affairs of Benares, and knowledge of the Oriental languages, you cannot but be well informed. Even the wreched plea of party necessity could not de urged at the time for the measure; for it is well known that when it took place, two parties did not exist in Bengal.

On these considerations your honourable Court cannot but see pressing reasons for giving substantial and early redress to an aggrieved servant, suffering in contempt of your own orders,

I have the honour to be with respect,
Honourable,
Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
JOHN WALSH.

No. XXV.

Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of the Court of Directors to Lieutenant-Colonel John Walsh.

Sir,

I am ordered by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acquaint you that the two letters you addressed the Court, dated the 2d and 23d instant, are referred to the Commitee of Correspondence, and that the said Committee have not yet come to any determination thereon.

East India House, 29th January, 1782.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
P. MICHELL, Sec.

Lieut. Colonel John Walsh.

No. XXVI.

Extract of the Secret General Letter from Bengal, dated 27th April 1781, received by the Bellmont, 5th February 1782.

Par. 46. Mr. Francis Fowke having been recalled from his Residency at Benares, and appointed Agent for the provision of boats to the army after the expiration of the present contract, We have appointed Mr. William Markham to that Residency.

No. XXVII.

Extract from Bengal Secret Consultations, furnished by favour of Major John Scott, the original Records not having hitherto reached the India House.

Consultation, 14th January 1781.

Governor-General. While this Government is charged with such extensive concerns, and hath to contend with difficulties equal perhaps to those in which even the supreme administration of the British empire is at this moment involved, it may at least claim as a right which, under any other system of Government that hath ever yet existed, would be conferred on it as an indispensable obligation, to employ and exercise the powers which are inherent in its constitution, and which are immediately necessary to the support, and eventually to the existence, of those essential interests which it holds in charge. On this principle I claim the right of nominating the Agent of my own choice to the Residency of Benares: it is a representative station and cannot, without a contradiction, be the charge of a man not preferably chosen to it by the members of the actual Government, and holding it by an authority independent of theirs. Speaking for myself alone, it may be sufficient to affirm that Mr. Francis Fowke is not my agent; that I cannot give him my confidence; that while he continues at Benares he stands as a screen between the Raja

and this Government, instead of an instrument of controul; and that the Raja himself, and every chief in Indostan, will regard it as the pledge and foundation of his independence.

To Mr. Fowke himself I have no personal objection. I approve his conduct and esteem his character; and I believe I might depend upon his exact ant literal obedience and fidelity in the execution of the functions annexed to it. My objection is stated above, and it is insuperable.

The person whom I have chosen to succeed him I consider as standing in the same degree of confidence and estimation with Mr. Wheler as myself. I adopted him (if I may so express myself) from his family and patronage, and assigned him an office of the highest trust near my own person with Mr. Wheler's approbation; and from a foresight of the event which has since made us the co-partners of this Government, and which suggested to me the propriety of employing such Agents as would be agreeable to him while they possessed the other requisites for my own confidence.

I therefore think him on every consideration the fittest to fill the office in question. I therefore move that Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately removed from the Residency of Benares, and that Mr. Markham may be appointed to it in his stead.

While I thus acquit myself of what I conceive to be a public duty, it is my desire at the same time to indemnify Mr. Fowke from the consequences personally attending it towards him. I therefore move that he be at the same time invested with the appointment of Agent for all boats to be employed for the military service of

this establishment, with an allowance of a commission of 15 per cent. upon all his disbursements in this office; that the executive charge thereof take place from the period of the expiration of Colonel Morgan's present contract; and that till that time and for three months following it, he be allowed to draw his present allowance of 1,000 Rupees per month.

I propose this method in preference to a contract; because I am convinced from experience that the service will be better performed by this alteration, although it is liable to one material objection in its natural influence in his expenses. This is a defect which can only be corrected by the probity of the person who is intrusted with so important a charge; and I am willing to have it understood as a proof of the confidence which I repose in Mr. Fowke, that I have proposed his appointment, in opposition to a general principle, to a trust so constituted.

Mr. Wheler. I accede to the propriety of the Governor-General's arguments and think them particularly applicable to the present state of this Government. I am also highly flattered by the choice the Governor-General has made of a gentleman to fill this important station, who was formerly under my patronage, and who is still in my confidence. But as Mr. Fowke has not yet signified his willingness to accept of the compensation proposed to him in exchange for his present appointment, I must decline giving my assent to his immediate removal.

The Governor-General's motion being agreed to, resolved, that Mr. William Markham be accordingly appointed Resident at Benares, and Mr. Benn his assistant. Resolved, that Mr. Francis Fowke be invested with the

appointment of Agent for the provision of all boats to be employed for the military services of this establishment, with an allowance of a commission of 15 per cent. upon all his disbursements in this office, the executive charge of which is to take place from the period of the expiration of Colonel Morgan's contract, and that to that time, and for three months following it, he be permitted to draw the present allowance of 1,000 Rupees per month.

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TESTIMONIALS.

(1) Mr. M. Bathars, Magistrate, Ngape, Burma, writes :—

Kindly send me per V. P. P. one box No. 4 of your "Bijoya Batika" containing 144 Pills at 4-4 per box. This is the 3rd lot that I have been getting these pills, which are the very thing for Malaria Fever of Burma climate.

(2) Mrs. Rogers of Lahore, (the Punjab) writes :—

Fever pills (Bijoya Batika) possess wonderful powers. I was suffering from fever for nine months and nothing could cure me until I used these pills. It should also be added as a matter of great satisfaction, that the use of these inexpensive Fever-pills has saved me from the hands of the extremely expensive Allopathic system of treatment.

(3 A. A. Shaw, Esqr., from 1, St. John's Road, Bangalore, South India, writes:—

I have derived much benefit from your Bijoya Batika. I shall feel obliged if you would send me another box, size No. 2, at 1-3 per return V. P. Post and oblige.

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